1990-1991 POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS of the COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN

NATIONAL CENSUS REPORT

BELIZE

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Prepared by

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FOREWORD

Pursuant to a mandate from the Standing Committee of Caribbean Statisticians (SCCS), analyses of the 1990/91 Population and Housing Censuses have been undertaken. Support for these analyses has been provided by a project, ***CAR/94/P06 - Analysis of the 1990/91 Census Data***, which was sponsored by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), with the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Secretariat as the executing and implementing agency, and Mr. Desmond Hunte as Regional Census Coordinator.

Under the project, studies were commissioned of the demographic situation in each of thirteen (13) CARICOM Member States, namely, *Antigua and Barbuda, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago*, as well as in *Bermuda*, the *British Virgin Islands* and the *Turks and Caicos Islands*. These studies were based on the results of the censuses and other related statistical data.

The project resulted in the preparation and publication of a **National Census Report** for each country and six (6) **Special-Topic Regional Census Monographs** dealing with issues of regional significance. The special-topics analysed were:-

- *The Employment Problem in the Region: The Role of the Education and Training Sectors in its Existence and its Solution;*
- *The Caribbean Region in this World - Preparing for the 21st Century;*
- *Intra and Extra Regional Mobility of the Caribbean Population;*
- *Gender and Development;*
- *Children and Youth; and*
- *The Elderly.*

Topics covered in the National Census Reports include:- *National Population Trends: Size, Distribution, Growth and Age Composition; National Population Trends: Social and Economic Composition; Living Arrangements, Fertility and Infant Mortality; Migration and Population Redistribution; Education; Employment and Unemployment; Housing; Children, Youth and the Elderly; and The Role and Status of Women.*

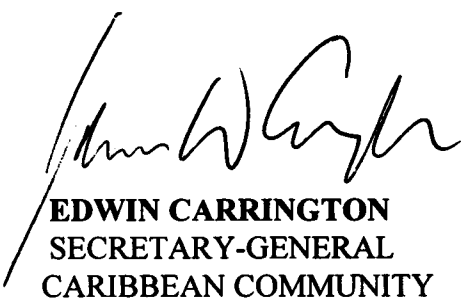
Each study was undertaken either by a demographer or statistician from the Caribbean with experience in population studies of the Region, or by a group of such researchers under a senior editor in consultation with the government statistical department in the country concerned. The first draft of the report was submitted for technical review by a demographer of international repute. On the basis of this review and comments from government officials of the country, the report was completed by the author or editor.

The studies are intended to aid and encourage each government of the Region to decide on its own policies and devise its own programme of action for dealing with the problems of population and economic and social progress facing the particular country. Authors were therefore urged to write the reports with the non-technical administrator, planner and policy-maker in view, and to pay especial attention to the relationships between population and the social and economic problems of particular concern to each country.

It is hoped then, that the studies will be of benefit to administrators and policy-makers as well as to researchers, students and general readers with an interest in the field of population.

The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) wishes to thank Mr. Desmond Hunte, the Regional Census Coordinator, who managed the production of the analyses, some of which he did himself, and Professor David Sly of the University of Tallahassee, Florida, for his substantial input in reviewing the reports and monographs and for providing advice to the census data analysis exercise. The valuable contribution of Mr. Osmond Gordon, Chief Statistician, and the staff of the CARICOM Secretariat Statistics Section is highly appreciated.

The Caribbean Community takes this opportunity to record its gratitude to UNFPA for its financial and technical support to the exercise, and to thank the Author for writing this Report.



EDWIN CARRINGTON
SECRETARY-GENERAL
CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY

Acknowledgements

The present demographic report of Belize was based mainly on the 1991 census data. It brings together, in a reasonably coherent way, analyses based on the data generated from the major issues which were addressed in the census. Aside from the usual demographic issues like age/sex distribution, religious and ethnic structure, migration etc. the report focusses on important social issues related to Education, Employment, Women, Youth and the Elderly. The entire report was written by staff of the Central Statistical Office (CSO) of Belize as follows: **Sylvan A. Roberts** wrote chapters 1,2,4 and 11; **Marion Palacio** chapters 3 and 7; **Sandra Paredez,** chapters 5 and 6; **Elizabeth Arnold,** chapters 9 and 10; and **Else Arnold Hobo** chapter 8.

The CSO would like to thank the Regional Census Office, and in particular **Mr. Desmond Hunte,** Regional Census Coordinator, and **Mr. Osmond Gordon** Chief Statistician of CARICOM, for the opportunity to actively partake in this project. Special thanks are also due to **Professor David Sly** from the FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY, U.S.A, who served as project consultant and provided us with detailed comments which richly improved the final report. The exercise was very challenging but greatly rewarding in terms of capacity building both at the CSO and in the country at large. Unfortunately, Belize currently lacks capable authors and analysts, and this project presented a golden opportunity for training and development in this area. We look forward to future involvement in similar projects.

A special tribute must be paid to the **Belizean Public** without whose cooperation such reliable and complete data for the current report would never have been available. Their cooperation in the 1991 Population Census of Belize is applauded. A particular slant in this report is the discussion of policy issues wherever possible and appropriate. These policy issues, directions and recommendations, if considered and adopted, can affect the living standards and conditions of all Belizeans in positive ways. We look forward to the adoption and implementation of some of these recommendations for the benefit of all Belizeans.

S.A. Roberts

CHIEF STATISTICIAN

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

PLANNING AND USE OF POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS DATA

Introduction

The United Nations defines a Population Census as "the total process of collecting, compiling and publishing demographic, economic and social data pertaining, at a specified time or times, to all persons in a country or delimited territory"[1]. Most countries in the world have conducted a population census at some point in time. In the developed world, censuses are carried out at regular intervals, usually every ten or five years. Some developed countries have recently questioned the need of a complete census since sample surveys are less expensive, more manageable and can yield as many benefits as a complete census.

In developing countries like Belize it is often a financial struggle to conduct a census. However, a census is often the only source of data for planning. Under such circumstances it becomes even more urgent that these countries conduct population censuses on a regular basis. In most of these countries, therefore, often with the assistance of funding agencies, censuses are conducted decennially.

Belize, like all other English speaking Caribbean countries, has a rich history of census taking. The first recorded census of the country's population dates back to 1801. Another was conducted in 1816 and thereafter, every three (3) or four (4) years until 1840, when there was a large delay in census taking until 1861. After 1861 other censuses were taken in 1911, 1921, 1946, 1960, 1970 and 1980. This report relies heavily on the data collected during the latest census which was conducted in 1991. A majority of the earlier censuses were restricted to mere headcounts since these figures were important for the colonial masters to assess the extent of their empires as well as for military purposes. Later the need for a broader scope of data, including various socio-economic and demographic characteristics, became important. Both the government and academics realized that the census provided an efficient vehicle for the collection of useful data which could help guide policy decisions. It is not surprising to learn that as early as 1946 a reasonably good life table could be generated for Belize, using the 1946 census data and available data from the vital registrar.

In the remainder of this chapter detailed issues relating to the planning of population censuses and the main uses of data generated from censuses will be discussed. Toward the end of the chapter, some data and graphs will be presented and discussed in light of the possible usefulness of the data.

The Planning of a Population and Housing Census

There are several standard steps involved in planning a census. These steps are crucial to the success of the exercise, and deviation from them could be disastrous. A good census is one which adopts and follows these standard steps rigorously. A poorly conducted census is one in which the planners deviate from these steps, or ignore some completely. The following discussion will focus on the major issues involved in these broad steps in the context of developing countries. Details on

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[1]United Nations, Principles and Recommendations for National Population Censuses, Statistical Papers, Series M, No. 27, 1958, p.3.

the planning and conduction of a census can be obtained from any good demographic statistics textbook.

The Idea of a Census and Related Legislation

Often the ruling politicians have to be reminded about the need to conduct a census. This reminder often comes from the local department of statistics which is the best equipped government unit to carry out this exercise. Experience has shown that a minimum period of two (2) years advance planning is essential for the conduction of a good census. The most important concern at this stage is the financing of the project. This is always a very costly undertaking, and the statistical department often has to put forward detailed justifications, together with an overall 'ballpark' estimate of the budget. Once the authorities give their approval it is important that the legislation be amended or enacted. Very often in developing countries, some form of legislation may already be in place, but this usually requires updating. It is extremely important that the appropriate legislation be put in place, after which the publicity of the legislation becomes necessary. It is always good to inform the public about the proposed census since this facilitates their cooperation. Justifications for the need of a census is also crucial in order to win the public's confidence and thereby their cooperation in answering the questions.

Mapping

Mapping of the entire country into enumeration districts (ED), or areas, is another major activity which has to be completed before enumeration. This takes the form of dividing pre-existing urban and rural areas within each district into small and manageable segments. In the case of urban areas, these segments often comprise an average of between 100 and 150 households, but are much smaller geographically than the rural segments. Even though the latter should comprise the same average number of households per ED, these segments are usually larger in geographic size because of the tendency for population in rural areas to be more dispersed. In order to facilitate mapping, a "quick count" of the population, if financially possible, is helpful and helps in splitting existing EDs, if necessary, to ensure that they are roughly equal in size. Mapping is essential to ensure maximum coverage and to reduce the likelihood of duplicate counts. During enumeration, the interviewer follows the map closely and enumerates in a systematic way within the boundaries of each ED. It is important that the mapping exercise be done well in advance of the census, and as far as possible, in order for the actual dwelling units to be drawn on the maps. This assists the interviewer even further, ensuring full coverage and reducing the risk of duplicating households.

Questionnaire Design

The design of the questionnaire, the main data collecting instrument, is perhaps the most crucial step in the planning of a census. If irrelevant or too few questions are asked the entire usefulness of the census will be highly questionable. On the other hand, If too many questions are asked respondents may become fatigued and refuse to cooperate. It is advisable to appoint a steering committee which is often comprised of representatives from various Ministries or Departments of Government, as well as private sector representatives to assist in planning. A Central Bank representative can also be an asset since this agency also does research. The same can be said for NGO's represented on the committee, and, if there is an umbrella organization for NGO's it may be more appropriate for that organization to represent the NGO community.

The major task of the steering committee is to produce a final instrument which captures most of the more urgent and useful demographic and socio-economic data, without causing undue burden or fatigue on the respondent. Respondent fatigue often leads either to gross respondent bias or outright refusal to participate in the exercise.

Questionnaire design does not imply the re-inventing of the wheel. In most countries there have been previous censuses which provide a basic starting point. A questionnaire often contains questions on **household headship** and the relationship of each household member to the head, **age** and **sex** of household members, **education level, employment status, place of birth,** and **marital status** of all members. Women are also asked about their **fertility** experience. The task is to build upon this, and add a few new topics like **disability.** Very often there will be a tendency to overcrowd the questionnaire since attempts are made to accommodate requests from all sectors of the society. The statistician has to be firm in ensuring that only the most important and more general questions are accommodated. In this way, the census can be a guide or a good sampling frame through which a more in-depth survey may follow. It is through such a survey that details about the specific topic can be gathered.

In addition to the type and number of questions, serious thought must also be given to the method of processing the questionnaire. Many of the English speaking Caribbean countries who conducted their 1991 censuses as a joint effort used the Optical Mark Reader (OMR) to facilitate their processing. Belize relied on this device as well, and the consensus here is that if it were not for this machine, the first results which were released as early as in late 1992 would never have been possible. Belize's experience was not reflected in all other countries of the region. Whatever approach a country chooses to process its census data, this choice has to be made early in order to facilitate early preparations. In the past, data processing has always been a serious bottleneck and census results were always unduly late. For Belize, the OMR was the device credited for an early release of the 1991 census results.

Once a first draft of the questionnaire has been agreed upon it should undergo a thorough pretest. A series of pretests of the questionnaire is important in order to obtain the 'best' instrument. Of course, at every pretest, thorough discussion of the results, including problems with the wording of questions should be undertaken, and the questionnaire appropriately amended. Pretesting of the questionnaire through the conduction of pilot interviews is important to obtain the best survey instruments. During this pretest the manuals which would have been prepared to guide interviewers and supervisors in carrying out the job, can also be tested and amended necessary.

Recruitment and Training of the Field Staff

A successful census depends upon a well trained, highly motivated and dedicated staff. This is true both for the staff at headquarters who are usually full-time, as well as the part-time staff recruited to assist in carrying out the exercise. With respect to the part-time staff, at least three levels have to be identified. First, each district has to be supervised by a District Supervisor. This person has to have a thorough knowledge of his respective district and the people residing there. Thorough knowledge of the district ensures that coverage is maximized, and knowing the people is an important asset in procuring cooperation in completing the questionnaires. This person also has to be of high standing in the community and command a lot of respect. Usually, this person is

reasonably senior - perhaps even a retiree, whose leadership capabilities must be unquestionable since they lead a reasonably large team.

The District Supervisor is assisted by Field Supervisors who supervise small groups or teams of interviewers. The ratio of Interviewers to Field Supervisor should not be more than 5 or 6 to 1. The Field Supervisor is expected to accompany his interviewers during their first interviews to ensure that the procedures are being adequately followed. Once this is ensured, he is expected to check every single questionnaire for adequate completion before submitting these to headquarters. A third major task of the Field Supervisor is to carry out a sample of re-interviews. The latter will ensure that the data are of a good quality.

Before training interviewers, a "Training of Trainers" workshop should be conducted. The District Supervisors, and if possible, the Field Supervisors should attend this workshop together with other potential trainers. Because of the size of the census exercise it is advisable that the training of interviewers be done regionally, and if possible, simultaneously.

The Collection and Processing of the Data

After the interviewers are trained the field enumeration can begin. Consideration will have already been given to the conduction of the census on a **de facto** (the enumeration of persons where they are found) or a **de jure** (the enumeration of persons where they usually reside) basis[2]. There are advantages and disadvantages to both methods. Belize, together with the other English speaking Caribbean countries have always adopted a **de facto** basis, which is much easier to carry out and manage.

The processing of the data commences shortly after enumeration with the coding of the questionnaires. Coding is usually done at the district level, but checking is necessary at least at the headquarters level before data entry or scanning. After coding, the questionnaires can be scanned. There should be built-in computerized and manual edits before the final data file is prepared. After the data have been edited and cleaned and the final data base completed, the tabulation of data begins. Usually, a set of the major tables are first produced and disseminated. At least descriptive commentaries should accompany these first results. This helps to boost the image of the department and reinforces the public's confidence to cooperate in future surveys.

Some Uses of Census Data

The main purpose of a Population Census is to generate data which can be used in as many ways as possible. Population censuses are very costly exercises and if the results are only used for academic purposes, it may be argued that this a waste of scarce resources. The data from censuses have been shown to be of great use in management, planning, and decision making in a variety of fields. Some of these uses are highlighted below. In order to make the data more useful, various statistics are frequently calculated first from the data. These statistics provide the tools for analyses in various fields.

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[2]Henry S. Shryock et al - "The Methods and Materials of Demography".

Use of Census Data for Demographic Analyses

The census questionnaire is always characterized by a generous supply of demographic questions. Questions on Fertility, Migration and Mortality are always prevalent. These questions yield a rich supply of demographic data for measures which are often not available from any other source in a developing country. Some examples of these measures are the Total Fertility Rate (TFR), Emigration Rate and Average Life Expectancy. All three statistics are essential in assessing the population's growth, structure and distribution, which in turn is necessary in guiding population policies and planning in the economic, health and education sectors, to name a few. More specifically, the TFR is a key measure of the rate at which the population is replacing itself[3]. A consistently high TFR implies that the population is young and will grow for some time to come. A young population requires more investment in education and health, and the rapid creation of jobs to accommodate the growing bulge in the labour force. High Emigration Rates imply that a large number of people are leaving the country which could be detrimental if these people are skilled or highly educated. The demographic measure called the Average Life Expectancy has become useful recently in the construction of the United Nations' Human Development Index. Closely associated with this measure is the Infant Mortality Rate, which for many years has been used to assess the health status of the country, and the real development which has occurred. This rate presently prevails as the most important in assessing socio-economic stability.

Use of Census Data for Marketing and Economic Planning

Census data can also be used in market research. An example of this can be seen in the case of the business entrepreneur who wants to establish an outlet in a particular locality of the country. First, a knowledge of the size of the population of the locality is extremely useful. If the catchment area is too small the business person may decide to relocate the outlet to a more convenient site. Let us also assume that the business intends to sell clothes, among other goods. A knowledge of the age/sex structure will greatly assist in deciding what type, i.e. size, style etc. to keep in stock for sale. Without such knowledge, the entrepreneur may well purchase goods which do not sell. This could be disastrous for the business. Other very useful sets of analyses with important implications for a business is the income distribution of the target population and its occupational profile. Reasonable levels of income and stable employment can guarantee the sustainability of the business enterprise. These are only some of the many uses which can be made of census data in market research.

Economic planning also relies very heavily on demographic measures and other census data. For example, levels of investment rely considerably on labour supply. If the required labour - both in terms of numbers and appropriate skills is not available, investors would be ill-advised to 'over-invest' in projects which are labour intensive. In order to properly guide investors in the right direction, statistics about the labour force size and skill levels are extremely necessary. These statistics are often derived form a population census. In fact, all economic development plans should

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[3]The Net Reproduction Rate is a much more refined measure of the rate at which a population replaces itself. The TFR is referred to here merely as an example and since it is a more familiar figure.

incorporate population characteristics and concerns. The latter are usually addressed from the findings in a census. One simple reason for ensuring that population considerations are given their rightful place in development plans is the fact that 'the people' are the object and subject of any development strategy. It is no wonder, therefore, that economic plans which in the past lacked the population dimension, often either failed or were not fully successful.

Use of Census Data in Social Analyses

Some reference to the use of census data in social analyses has already been made in a previous section. This section will present more details. First, analysis of the education sector relies heavily on population data from the census. Key measures like attendance rates, net enrollment rates, participation rates, etc. all rely on a census or reliable estimates of population size for children of school age. Literacy rates can also be inferred from the data gathered in a population census. The usefulness of these data cannot be overemphasized.

The health sector also relies heavily on population figures for the calculation of many key health indicators. Population figures are used as the denominators for most of these rates. The IMR, referred to earlier, is only one such key measure. Mortality rates at other ages, immunization rates, levels of accessibility to maternal and child health care are all extremely important health statistics, which rely on population data for their estimation. In order to assess the efficiency of the health system, just as in the case of the education system, an updated account of these indicators is necessary.

Reference has already been made to the usefulness of census data in the estimation of labour force characteristics which, in turn, are indispensable in manpower planning and the assessment of the labour market. An assessment of the housing situation can also be facilitated, to a large extent, by data from a population census. In fact, many such censuses are appropriately titled "Population and Housing Censuses". Related data give a snapshot of the type of dwelling units in terms of their physical characteristics. Town Planners, as well as the local politicians, can make much use of these data. For example, the former would like to ensure that dwelling units of certain structures prevail throughout the city, and that population in-flows are accommodated in an orderly fashion. Politicians should give priority to improving the housing stock for dwelling units are which are deteriorating. These are only a few situations which can be facilitated by census data.

Conclusion

The various stages involved in planning a population census, together with some potential uses of the data collected, have been reviewed above. A population census provides a goldmine of data which can never be over-exhausted. Use of such data can be made continuously until the next census is conducted, usually in ten years. Belize has been actively involved in censuses since the late nineteenth century, and since 1960 has joined ranks with the other English speaking Caribbean countries in conducting this exercise jointly. The table below show population growth by sex since 1946. Interestingly, the data show that whereas in the late 1940's Belize's population changed annually by an increment of about 2,200, in the 1980's the corresponding figure was 4,000. This implies that provisions have to be made for 80% more people annually than in the past. Certainly, therefore, many more resources have become necessary. As will be discussed later, immigration, particularly of Central American refugees and other migrants has been a major cause of this phenomenon.

Table 1.1: Total Population by Sex at Census Dates 1946 - 1991 & Intercensal Growth Rates

Census Year	Total	Males	Females	Intercensal Growth
1946	59,220	28,722	30,498	
1960	90,565	44,659	45,906	31,345
1970	119,645	60,092	59,553	29,080
1980	145,353	73,617	71,736	25,708
1991	189,392	96,325	93,067	44,039

CHAPTER 2

NATIONAL POPULATION TRENDS: SIZE, GROWTH AND AGE DISTRIBUTION

Introduction

The last chapter discussed the various stages of the planning of a population and housing census and some of the main uses made of the data collected in such a massive exercise. This chapter will examine some of the key characteristics of a population, namely its size, growth and age distribution. After a census is carried out, these three features of the population warrant analysis since they provide several answers to important questions usually raised by development planners among others. For example, a key measure development planners rely on for many decisions is **per capita income**. This indicator is obtained by dividing the total goods and services produced (GDP) during a particular period by the total population. Population size is, therefore, a key component in the calculation of this indicator. The arrangement of the current chapter is to examine the above three major characteristics, and simultaneously to discuss some of their implications for the planning process.

Population Size and Growth

Table 1.1 of Chapter 1 shows that the size of the population of Belize increased from 59,220 in 1946 to 189,392 in 1991. This represents an increase of over 219% during the forty five (45) year interval, or an addition of over 2,892 persons per annum. However, as the data show, this growth at the national level has not been uniform throughout the period. Whereas between 1970 and 1980 the population increased by 25,708, the corresponding figure for the interval between 1980 and 1991 is 44, 839, or almost one and three quarter times the previous increase. The growth of the population has been more rapid during the most recent decade. Whereas the annual increment to the population was around 2,500 between 1970 and 1980, this figure increased to approximately 4,000 per annum between 1980 and 1991. Hence annually, 80% more people were being added to the population during the last census interval than during the previous. A major implication of this phenomenon is the stress and strain it poses on the limited resources which exist in Belize. The health and education services, for example, will both have to be significantly enhanced to meet growing demand. More health clinics and hospitals will have to be built. More health personnel will have to be recruited and trained. More drugs and health equipment will have to be procured. This means that the budget for the health sector will have to be increased significantly. The same can be argued for the education and housing sectors under the circumstances of a rapidly growing population.

However, the size and growth of a population are not the only concerns. Of equal importance is the distribution of the population. Of current concern at the international level is the extent to which this affects natural resources. Undoubtedly, high population densities can have deleterious effects on the environment. For example, the frequent and intensive use of land for agricultural purposes caused by densely populated areas, can rapidly deplete soil nutrients causing the land to become fallow. Under such circumstances, the land can grow crops only after expensive inputs are added.

Table 2.1 presents data on the geographic distribution of population in 1980 and 1991. The percent columns represent each areas share of the total population. Belize is geographically divided into six districts. The Table shows that growth across the various geographic regions has not been evenly distributed. Further, all urban areas of the country, with the exception of the Belize district, grew much less than rural areas. Table 2.1 confirms that the distribution of population between districts changed by 7.4%, i.e. if the distribution in 1991 was to be made exactly parallel to the distribution in 1980, a total of 14,015 persons would have to be redistributed from those areas which gained population during the interval to those areas which lost population. The fact that this figure (14,015) is much larger than the population of most geographic divisions attests to the fact that redistribution over the interval was substantial. This also suggests that migration was a particularly important component of population change during the 1980's.

A particular trend in the distribution of Belize's population between 1980-1991 is that growth in rural areas exceeded that in the urban areas, except in Belize District. This was true at the country level where the proportion in 1991 was 47.5% Urban and 52.5% Rural. From Table 2.1, it can also be seen that for every district except the Belize district, the rural areas grew much more than the urban areas. In most countries, the opposite is true. Hence, many developing countries have severe urbanization because of massive rural-urban push. Often the possibility of better (and more) jobs together with a better quality of life in the urban areas form the main attraction. When this is the case, it is only natural for most of the population to want to take up residence in these more comfortable areas. In the case of Belize, even though more analysis of these and other data are needed, it appears that internal movements are directed toward the urban areas, as is the case with Belize City in the Belize district. Population movements from outside the country into Belize are more directed towards the rural areas. Hence, it is not so much that the local population is moving from urban to rural areas causing sharp rises in our rural population, but instead that the inflow of immigrants are settling initially in the rural areas. The situation in the Cayo rural division is a good example of this. Between 1980 and 1991 this division grew by 82.2%. Although these data do not show it, this large growth reflects the fact that it is the official home of our refugee population[4]. Another cause of this, however, is the existence of vast tracts of arable land and its proximity with neighbouring Guatemala, the country through which most of our Central American migrants enter. Economic migrants found a haven here since it was easy to claim land and build a farm - something that these people never had the opportunity to do in their country of origin. The government of Belize had reclaimed these lands but devoted little attention to the influx of migrants until the problem became too large. Now, it is difficult to move, resettle, or otherwise repossess these lands from the migrants for redistribution to Belizeans.

The recent trend towards ruralization exhibited by the 1991 census data must be interpreted with caution. It is true that the large influx of immigrants into Belize, coming mainly from the neighbouring countries of Central America, has caused this large growth of the rural regions, since it is known that these people settle first in the rural parts of the country. However, other and more

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[4]**Major Findings** from the 1991 Population and Housing Census of Belize.

recent data[5] suggest that in 1995, the urban/rural distribution has turned around so the urban population accounts for a larger share of the total.

Gender and Age Group Differentials in the Growth and Distribution of the Population

Belize has a very young population. This was the situation in 1980[6], and even though some changes have occurred to the age structure in 1991, these have not been significant. The population pyramid for 1991 has a wide base indicating rather high levels of fertility. Under such prevailing conditions, a population is considered young. The usual problems associated with a young population will be discussed below, but first we take a more in-depth look at the age and gender distribution.

The 1991 Census enumerated 93,067 females and 96,325 males, i.e. 3,258 more males than females, a sex ratio of approximately 1.04. In 1980, the sex ratio stood at 1.03 reflecting 1,881 more males than females. Hence, during the census interval, 22,746 males (or 52% of the total population increase) were added to the population compared to an increase of 21,331 females. Thus, at the national level, males and females contributed about equally to population growth (Table 2.3 for females and Table 2.4 for males).

However, even though at the national level the increase in population between 1980 and 1991 reflected an almost equal number of males and females, this pattern was not replicated in all districts, or in the urban and rural sectors. Table 2.2 below displays the actual changes both in absolute and percentage terms, for the major geographical areas by sex. From this Table it can be seen that the changes by regions have not been evenly distributed. However, changes attributable to sex are also not evenly distributed across the various regions. In the Corozal Rural, for example, the population increased by 5,399 persons during the interval. Females accounted for 53.1% of this increase. The increase of 623 persons in Belmopan was similarly due mostly to females (60.7%). In Belize City, however, the increase of 4,316 was due mainly to males (61.2%). It is interesting to note that in the Cayo Rural, which experienced the largest increase in population during the interval, growth did not favour either of the sexes. In this region, females accounted for 48.4% and males 51.6% of the growth.

Analysis of sex ratios by region may further illustrate the point that there were significant sex differences in population growth at the district level. Table 2.5 shows sex ratios by broad regions for both census years 1980 and 1991. At first glance it becomes obvious that the sex ratios for individual regions for the two periods differ significantly from the ratios at the country level. For example, at the country level there were 104 males for every 100 females in 1991, and 103 males for every 100 females in 1980, in Corozal Town there were only 96 males to 100 females in 1991, as contrasted with 100 males to 100 females in 1980. Hence, Corozal Town suffered a loss in its male population. In the case of the Stann Creek rural area however, the sex ratio changed from 1.11 in 1980 to 1.16 in 1991, reflecting an influx of even more males than females into this area. Belmopan, the capital of the country is an interesting case, where in 1980, for every 100 females there were 102 males. In 1991, there were only 94 males for every 100 females. This is a possible

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[5]Belize Labour Force Survey Report (1995).

[6]1980-1981 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean, Belize. Volume 3.

reflection of the fact that in 1991, there were more females than males in the Civil Service, since civil servants are the main residents of Belmopan. Cayo rural, the highest growth area is also interesting since even though it grew the most, its sex ratio in 1991 remained almost the same as it was in 1980. Dangriga, the only region which lost population during the intercensal period, retained an identical sex ratio of 0.92 in 1991 as in 1980. One implication here is that emigration from this area, which is one of the main factors accounting for negative population growth in Dangriga is not 'sex specific', .e. an equal number of males and females are leaving the town. Belize City, the largest populated area and the 'commercial capital' of the country, similar to areas like San Ignacio, Benque Viejo and Stann Creek rural, experienced a larger increase in males than females. Hence, the sex ratio for all of these areas increased significantly during the period.

Thus far, the discussion has shown that even though at the country level there have not been many changes with respect to sex differentials, the same cannot be said when this is considered at the level of the major areas of the country. Significant changes also occurred in the geographic spread of the population both at the country level, where the total rural population exceeded the total urban as per the 1991 census results, and at the major division or district level.

The age structure of the country, especially when analyzed by broad age groups, shows many significant changes which must be considered when serious planning is being done. For example, there may be specific jobs which males of a specific age group can perform more efficiently than another age group. Creating such jobs in a female dominated situation may present some problems. In a developing country like Belize, traditional customs still prevail among some of the ethnic groups. These customs may tend to exclude persons of a particular sex or age group from fully participating. The age and sex structure of a population, therefore, has to be considered seriously in any analysis which could benefit the planning process.

Table 2.6 displays age data at the country level for the total population. Tables 2.7 and 2.8 show age by sex. A glance at Table 2.6 reveals that even though the number of children 0-14 grew from 67,116 in 1980 to 83,210 in 1991, its proportional share of the total population declined from 46.2% in 1980 to 43.9% in 1991. Youths 15-24, accounted for approximately the same proportion of population at both census dates, and the proportion of the population 60 and over changed little from 6.5% to 6.1%. The proportion of the population in the productive ages, however, grew significantly from 26.4% in 1980 to almost 30% in 1991.

When the population is analyzed by the conventional age groups, as in Table 2.6, the minor changes in age structure do not stand out very well. In fact, even though there were absolute increases in every single age group, the age distribution of the population in 1991 is quite similar to that in 1980. Indeed, the total gain in the age group 25-59 is evenly distributed among the younger productive age groups, i.e. 25-29, 30-34...40-44. The age groups experiencing the largest absolute increase were these at rates of 65%, 76%, 76.3% and 36.7%, respectively.

Analyses of changes in age structure of a population can be very useful for the planner. The illustration above shows, for example, that Belize's dependency ratio declined albeit slightly (from 2.8 in 1980 to 2.3 in 1991). The over 60's and youths remained approximately the same proportion of the total population, and the productive population increased. The number of children (as a proportion of the total population) demanding a basic education and quality health care decreased during the interval. It should be noted though that a larger labour force could be counterproductive when jobs are unavailable.

Tables 2.7 and 2.8 present separate data showing the age composition of the female and male population for the two census years. From Table 2.6, it is clear that the number of children increased by 16,094 during the intercensal period. Tables 2.7 and 2.8 show, respectively that the female increase accounted for 48% and the male 52%. Also, the number of youths grew by 7,565 with the male increase accounting for 46% and the female 54%. Finally the most productive age group, 25-59, grew by 18,334 and males accounted for 52% and females 48% of this increase. This analysis shows that there were hardly any sex differentials in the increases shown. Neither of the two sexes overly dominated the growth among the different age groups. This tendency towards a normal and equal sex distribution by broad age groups, also characterized the distribution by geographic regions as discussed earlier. It should be noted though that when the distribution is analyzed by conventional 5-year age groups, this pattern remains the same only up to age group 40-44. Thereafter, for most of the remaining groups, male increases accounted for a disproportionate amount of the overall increases.

Table 2.9 presents summary data showing the age composition of each district in the country together with a few other summary statistics. Several important points are highlighted in both census years by these data. One of these relates to the differences in the age composition during the interval. Dependency ratios are calculated here by taking the sum of those in age groups 0-14, 15-24 and 60+ divided by the total in age group 25-59. If the ranges of the dependency ratios for both census periods are examined it is noted that these hardly changed. The range for 1980 was 0.4 and for 1991 was 0.5. This implies that the small shift in age structure between the two census periods had little or no effect on these ratios. Thus, the population is being supported in 1991 by a similar number of people in the potential labour force as was the case in 1980. However, if individual districts are examined, it may be argued that significant changes occurred in the Toledo district where for example, the ratio moved from 3.0 in 1980 to 2.0 in 1991. Only in this district was improvement in this ratio that significant.

Finally it should be noted that despite the small changes in dependency ratios and in the range of these, the amount of redistribution between age categories within census divisions vary to a significant degree. The Index of Dissimilarity, which is a summary measure of the difference between two age distributions, is also shown in Table 2.9. It varies from a low of 1.5 in Toledo to a high of 4.7 in the Belize district giving a range of 3.2. Hence, redistribution between age categories was more intense in the Belize district than in Toledo.

Estimating the Net Effect of International Migration on Population Growth

International migration has played a significant role in the shaping of Belize's population. It can be argued that all the various ethnic groups in the country, with the exception of the indigenous Mayas, are immigrants since their ancestors originally immigrated into Belize. In this section, an attempt is made to examine the extent of this influence during the interval under review. Table 2.10 presents a theoretical model through which this influence can be examined. This model was derived from available data. The Table presents data showing the actual counts by age in 1991 and 1980, but arranged this time in a cohort framework. Each line in the Table for 1980 shows the actual number of people enumerated in 1980 while the same line shows the number of people enumerated ten years later when the 1980 population is ten years older. The 1991 figure can be different from the 1980 figure on the same line (above age 0-4 in 1980) due to only two (2) factors. First, the figure can be reduced during the interval by mortality to the people alive in 1980. Second,

it can increase or decrease from persons in this age group moving into or out of the country. If we can estimate the mortality effect for each group and subtract this from the count in 1980, we are then left with an estimate of what the size of the population in the age groups should be in the absence of migration. The difference between the estimate and the actual count in 1991 represents an estimate of the net change in the number of people in the age group which resulted from migration. If we then sum these figures over all age groups, we arrive at an estimate of how much migration has influenced population change for the ages 10-14 and over in 1991. It should be noted though that these figures do contain certain errors. For example, mortality is not precisely measured and the interval between the census was slightly more than ten years, although ten years is assumed to be the interval. However, the general trend is captured by these figures, and this trend is more important than precision of estimates in this analysis. Another source of error is the assumption in the model that migration does not affect the population age 0-9, which is also assumed to be counted accurately in 1991.

Bearing these assumptions in mind, we can now look more closely at the data in Table 2.10. These data show that if there was no migration into and out of Belize during the interval, the population age ten and over in 1980 would have totaled 129,756 in 1991 if it had changed only due to mortality. If those who were born and survived over the interval are added to this, in the absence of migration the total population of the country would have been 188,351. This figure is 1,041 less than the actual count, and implies that the net effect of immigration on population change was substantial. This is a reversal of the trend between 1970 and 1980 and other intervals before, where emigration dominated the net effect. This analysis does support the view that presently, more people are coming into Belize than are leaving.

Analyzing trends, the model shows that the higher immigrant age groups are those 30-44, peaking at age 35-39. The large positive numbers at age 10-14 (2017) and age 60 (288) partly reflect these members joining their families in Belize. With respect to planning, the numbers are illustrative of the additional burden posed by the immigrant population on the limited resources of Belize. The trend shows that there may be many more dependent ages than potential productive labour force participants entering Belize. These figures are therefore in line with the present common belief that the immigrants are more of a detriment to Belize.

Conclusion

This chapter considered population growth and size together with geographic and age distribution. Sex differentials in growth by region and age were also examined. The analysis showed that the pace of population change increased during the 1980's. The potential burden this can pose for the resources of Belize was outlined. It was shown that growth at the urban and rural levels was not even. The rural sector grew more than the urban sector between 1980 and 1991. Most districts experienced some growth even though this was more pronounced in some districts like Cayo, than in others like Corozal. Also, in some districts, sex differentials in growth are more noticeable than in others. Finally, since Belize's population continues to be affected by migration, the net effect of this phenomenon was examined in the last section of the chapter. This analysis shows that during the period immigration had a pronounced effect on the overall growth of the population.

Table 2.1: Total Population by District and Urban/Rural Region: 1991 & 1980

AREA	1991		1980		CHANGE
	No.	%	No.	%	No.
COROZAL TOWN	7,062	3.7	6,899	4.7	163
COROZAL RURAL	21,402	11.3	16,003	11.0	5,399
ORANGE WALK TOWN	11,014	5.8	8,439	5.8	2,575
ORANGE WALK RURAL	19,667	10.4	14,431	9.9	5,236
BELIZE CITY	44,087	23.3	39,771	27.4	4,316
SAN PEDRO TOWN	1,849	1.0	1,125	0.8	724
BELIZE RURAL	11,094	5.9	9,905	6.8	1,189
SAN IGNACIO TOWN	8,962	4.7	5,616	3.9	3,346
BENQUE VIEJO TOWN	3,580	1.9	2,435	1.7	1,145
BELMOPAN CITY	3,558	1.9	2,935	2.0	623
CAYO RURAL	21,593	11.4	11,851	8.2	9,742
DANGRIGA TOWN	6,435	3.4	6,661	4.6	- 226
STANN CREEK RURAL	11,650	6.2	7,520	5.2	4,130
PUNTA GORDA TOWN	3,458	1.8	2,396	1.6	1,062
TOLEDO RURAL	13,981	7.4	9,366	6.4	4,615
ALL URBAN	**90,005**	**47.5**	**76,277**	**52.2**	**13,728**
ALL RURAL	**99,387**	**52.5**	**69,076**	**47.5**	**30,311**
GRAND TOTAL	**189,392**	**100**	**145,353**	**100**	**44,039**

Table 2.2: Changes in Population Distribution by Sex

	FEMALE CHANGE	MALE CHANGE	TOTAL CHANGE	% DUE TO FEMALE	% DUE TO MALE
COUNTRY	21,331	22,708	44,039	48.4	51.6
COROZAL TOWN	150	13	163	92	8
COROZAL RURAL	2,867	2,532	5,399	53.1	46.9
O/WALK TOWN	1,285	1,290	2,575	49.9	50.1
O/WALK RURAL	2,503	2,773	5,276	47.4	52.6
BELIZE CITY	1,674	2,642	4,316	38.8	61.2
S/PEDRO TOWN	371	353	724	51.2	48.8
BELIZE RURAL	787	402	1,189	66.2	33.8
S/IGNAC TOWN	1,615	1,731	3,346	48.3	51.7
B/VIEJO TOWN	550	595	1,145	48	52
BELMOPAN	378	245	623	60.7	39.3
CAYO RURAL	4,713	5,029	9,742	48.4	51.6
DNGRIGA TOWN	-121	-105	-226	53.5	66.5
SCREEK RURAL	1,831	2,299	4,130	44.3	55.7
P/GORDA TOWN	527	535	1,062	49.6	50.4
TOLEDO RURAL	2,201	2,414	4,615	47.7	52.3

Table 2.3: Female Population by District and Urban/Rural Region, 1991 & 1980

AREA	1991		1980		CHANGE
	No.	%	No.	%	No.
COROZAL TOWN	3595	3.9	3445	4.8	150
COROZAL RURAL	10,324	11.1	7457	10.4	2,867
ORANGE WALK TOWN	5,460	5.9	4,175	5.8	1,285
ORANGE WALK RURAL	9,194	9.9	6,691	9.3	2,503
BELIZE CITY	22,270	23.9	20,596	28.7	1,674
SAN PEDRO TOWN	926	1.0	555	0.8	371
BELIZE RURAL	5,432	5.8	4,645	6.5	787
SAN IGNACIO TOWN	4,562	4.9	2,947	4.1	1,615
BENQUE VIEJO TOWN	1,804	1.9	1,254	1.7	550
BELMOPAN CITY	1,830	2.0	1,452	2.0	378
CAYO RURAL	10,348	11.1	5,635	7.9	4,713
DANGRIGA TOWN	3,352	3.6	3,473	4.8	- 121
STANN CREEK RURAL	5,399	5.8	3,568	5.0	1,831
PUNTA GORDA TOWN	1,794	1.9	1,267	1.8	527
TOLEDO RURAL	6,777	7.3	4,576	6.4	2,201
ALL URBAN	**45,593**	**49.0**	**39,164**	**52.2**	**6,429**
ALL RURAL	**47,474**	**51.0**	**32,572**	**47.5**	**14,902**
GRAND TOTAL	**93,067**	**100**	**71,736**	**100**	**21,331**

Table 2.4: Male Population by District and Urban/Rural Region, 1991 & 1980

AREA	1991		1980		CHANGE
	No.	%	No.	%	No.
COROZAL TOWN	3467	3.6	3454	4.7	13
COROZAL RURAL	11,078	11.5	8,546	11.6	2,532
ORANGE WALK TOWN	5,554	5.8	4,264	5.8	1,290
ORANGE WALK RURAL	10,473	10.9	7,740	10.5	2,773
BELIZE CITY	21,817	22.6	19,175	26.0	2,642
SAN PEDRO TOWN	923	1.0	570	0.8	353
BELIZE RURAL	5,662	5.9	5,260	7.1	402
SAN IGNACIO TOWN	4,400	4.6	2,669	3.6	1,731
BENQUE VIEJO TOWN	1,776	1.8	1,181	1.6	595
BELMOPAN CITY	1,728	1.8	1,483	2.0	243
CAYO RURAL	11,245	11.7	6,216	8.4	5,029
DANGRIGA TOWN	3,083	3.2	3,188	4.3	- 105
STANN CREEK RURAL	6,251	6.5	3,952	5.4	2,299
PUNTA GORDA TOWN	1,664	1.7	1,129	1.5	535
TOLEDO RURAL	7,204	7.5	4,790	6.5	2,414
ALL URBAN	**44,412**	**46.1**	**37,113**	**50.4**	**7,297**
ALL RURAL	**51,913**	**53.9**	**36,504**	**49.6**	**15,449**
GRAND TOTAL	**96,325**	**100**	**73,617**	**100**	**22,746**

Table 2.5: Sex Ratios by Major Divisions (1991 and 1980)

AREA	1991	1980
COUNTRY	1.04	1.03
COROZAL TOWN	0.96	1.00
COROZAL RURAL	1.07	1.15
O/WALK TOWN	1.02	1.02
BELIZE CITY	0.98	0.93
SAN IGNACIO	0.96	0.91
B/VIEJO TOWN	0.98	0.94
BELMOPAN	0.94	1.02
CAYO RURAL	1.09	1.10
DANGRIGA TOWN	0.92	0.92
S/CREEK RURAL	1.16	1.11
PUNTA GORDA TOWN	0.93	0.89
TOLEDO RURAL	1.06	1.05

Table 2.6: Total Population by Age Groups and Percent Change, 1980 and 1991

AVERAGE	1991		1980		CHANGE
	No.	%	No.	%	No.
COUNTRY	189,392	100	145,353	100	44,039
0-14	83,210	43.9	67,116	46.2	16,094
15-24	37,980	20.1	30,415	20.9	7,565
25-59	56,708	29.9	38,374	26.4	18,334
60+	11,494	6.1	9,448	6.5	2046
0-4	30,464	16.4	24,310	16.7	6,154
5-9	28,132	14.9	22,711	15.6	5,421
10-14	24,614	13.0	20,095	13.8	4,519
15-19	20,732	10.9	17,478	12.0	3,254
20-24	17,248	9.1	12,937	8.9	4,311
25-29	14,873	7.9	9,012	6.2	5,861
30-34	12,038	6.4	6,832	4.7	5,206
35-39	9,228	4.9	5,233	3.6	3,995
40-44	6,953	3.7	5,087	3.5	1,866
45-49	4,984	2.6	4,651	3.2	333
50-54	4,644	2.5	4,361	3.0	283
55-59	3,989	2.1	3,198	2.2	791
60-64	3,525	1.9	2,762	1.9	763
65-69	2,822	1.5	2,471	1.7	351
70-74	2,074	1.1	1,595	1.1	479
75-79	1,381	0.7	1,160	0.8	221
80+	1,692	0			

Table 2.7: Female Population by Age Groups and Percent Change, 1980 and 1991.

AVERAGE	1991		1980		CHANGE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
COUNTRY	93,067	100	71,736	100	21,331	
0-14	40,875	43.9	33,216	46.3	7,659	
15-24	19,005	20.4	14,936	20.8	4,069	
60+	27,462	29.5	18,718	26.1	8,744	
0-4	14,974	16.1	12,056	16.8	2,918	
5-9	13,886	14.9	11,223	15.6	2,663	
10-14	12,015	12.9	9,937	13.8	2,078	
15-19	10,368	11.1	8,651	12.1	1,717	
20-24	8,637	9.3	6,285	8.8	2,352	
25-29	7,427	8.0	4,431	6.2	2,996	
30-34	5,845	6.3	3,359	4.7	2,486	
35-39	4,411	4.7	2,573	3.6	1,838	
40-44	3,350	3.6	2,427	3.4	923	
45-49	2,373	2.5	2,286	3.2	87	
50-54	2,168	2.3	2,070	2.9	98	
55-59	1,889	2.0	1,572	2.2	317	
60-64	1,657	1.8	1,358	1.9	299	
65-69	1,387	1.5	1,289	1.8	98	
70-74	1,024	1.1	840	1.2	184	
75-79	717	0.8	610	0.8	107	
80+	940	1.0	769	1.1	171	

Table 2.8: Male Population by Age Groups and Percent Change, 1980 and 1991

	1991		1980		CHANGE
	No.	%	No.	%	No.
COUNTRY	96,325	100	73,617	100	22,708
0-14	42,334	43.9	33,900	46	8,434
15-24	18,976	19.7	15,479	21.1	3,497
25-59	29,245	30.0	19,656	26.7	9,589
60+	5,770	6.0	4,582	6.2	1,188
0-4	15,489	16.1	12,254	16.6	3,235
5-9	14,246	14.8	11,488	15.6	2,758
10-14	12,599	13.1	10,158	13.8	2,441
15-19	10,365	10.8	8,827	12.0	1,538
20-24	8,611	8.9	6,652	9.0	1,959
25-29	7,446	7.7	4,581	6.2	2,865
30-34	6,194	6.4	3,473	4.7	2,721
35-39	4,816	5.0	2,660	3.6	2,156
40-44	3,603	3.7	2,660	3.6	943
45-49	2,610	2.7	2,365	3.2	245
50-54	2,476	2.6	2,291	3.1	185
55-59	2,100	2.2	1,626	2.2	474
60-64	1,869	1.9	1,404	1.9	465
65-69	1,435	1.5	1,182	1.6	253
70-74	1,050	1.1	755	1.0	295
75-79	665	0.7	550	0.7	115
80+	751	0.8	691	0.9	60

Table 2.9: Showing Population by Age Groups and Major Division, Dependency Ratios and Index of Dissimilarity (1991)

	COUNTRY	COROZAL	O/WALK	BELIZE	CAYO	S/CREEK	TOLEDO
NO.							
0-14	83,210	12,684	14,058	21,968	17,301	8,047	9,152
15-24	37,980	6,101	6,458	11,497	7,437	3,319	3,168
25-59	56,707	8,800	9,280	17,965	10,739	5,254	4,670
60+	11,494	1,556	1,487	4,245	1,973	1,295	938
PERCENT							
0-14	43.9	43.5	45	39.4	46.2	45	51
15-24	20	21	20.6	20.6	19.9	18.5	17.7
25-59	30	30.1	29.6	32.2	28.6	29.2	26
60+	6.1	5.4	4.8	7.8	5.3	7.3	5.3
D/RATIOS	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.1	2.5	2.4	2.8
I/DISSIM		4.4	3.9	4.7	2.8	4.0	1.5
NO.							
0-14	67,116	10,721	11,332	20,882	11,327	6,755	6,098
15-24	30,415	4,865	4,709	11,571	4,591	2,667	2,012
25-59	38,374	5,943	6,112	13,889	5,963	3,564	2,903
60+	9,448	1,102	1,025	4,269	1,240	1,162	650
PERCENT							
0-14	46.2	47.4	48.9	41.3	49.0	47.7	52.3
15-24	20.9	21.5	20.3	22.9	20.0	18.8	17.2
25-59	26.4	26.3	26.4	27.4	25.8	25.2	24.9
60+	6.5	4.9	4.4	8.4	5.4	8.2	5.6
D/RATIOS	2.3	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.9	3.0	3.0

NOTE: D/RATIOS: Dependency Ratios

Table 2.10: Estimated Net Migration for Belize 1980-1991

AGE(1980)	AGE (1991)	POP. ('80) ENUMERATED	SURVIVAL RATIO	POP. ('91) ENUMERATED	ESTIMATED 1991	ESTIMATED NET MIGRATION
	0-4			30,464		
	5-9			28,132		
0-4	10-14	24,310	.92953	24,614	22,597	2,017
5-9	15-19	22,711	.93053	20,732	21,113	-401
10-14	20-24	20,095	.92787	17,248	18,646	-1,398
15-19	25-29	17,478	.92626	14,873	16,189	-1,316
20-24	30-24	12,937	.92257	12,038	11,935	103
25-29	35-39	9,012	.91445	9,228	8,241	987
30-34	40-44	6,832	.89844	6,953	6,138	815
35-39	45-49	5,233	.88930	4,984	4,654	330
40-44	50-54	5,087	.88000	4,644	4,477	167
45-49	55-59	4,651	.86458	3,989	4,021	-32
50-54	60-64	4,361	.84442	3,525	3,683	-158
55-59	65-69	3,198	.82724	2,822	2,646	176
60-64	70-74	2,762	.78933	2,074	2,180	-106
65-69	75-79	2,471	.72102	3,081	1,782	-401
70+	80+	4,215	.34024	1,692	1,434	258
	ESTIMATED	ACTUAL	EST. MIGRATION			
POPN. 10+	129,756	130,797	**+1,041**			
POPN. 0-9	58,595	58,595				
TOTAL	188,351	189,392	**+1,041**			

NOTE: Survival ratios are obtained from the Life Table for Belize generated from the 1980 Census data

CHAPTER 3

NATIONAL POPULATION TRENDS - SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COMPOSITION

Introduction

This chapter explores the social and economic characteristics of Belize for census years 1991 and 1980. Consideration will be given to both the Belize born and the foreign born populations. Age, ethnicity, religion, education, and economic activity of these two sub-populations will be examined. Finally, some consideration is given to household characteristics.

The 1991 Census showed that Belize's population continued to be influenced by migration, which has social, cultural and economic implications. A migration policy needs to have mechanisms to ensure that both the number and rate of migration are at levels that can facilitate a smooth integration into society. Planners need to consider all such issues in the course of formulating migration policy within the context of a broader population policy.

During the 1980's the census data suggest that an immigrant to Belize was more than likely a person of Mestizo descent, age 14 - 44 years and a Roman Catholic. An emigrant from Belize was more likely to be from the Creole community, age 45 - 59 and of the Anglican faith. These and other characteristics will be explored further in this chapter.

Population by Country of Birth

In 1991, the Belize born population numbered 160,163 persons or 86.1% of the total population. The foreign population stood at 25,807 or 13.9% of the total population. The number of Belize born persons in the 1980 population stood at 131,910 or 91.1% of the total population. There were 12,940 foreign born persons representing 8.9% of the total population. Hence, there was a higher proportion of foreign born persons in 1991 than 1980. The total population by country of birth and gender can be seen in Table 3.1.

The census figures suggest that the foreign born population increased at a much more rapid pace than the Belize born population. The latter increased by 21.4% between 1980 and 1991 while the former increased by 99.4%. If the same trend continues the foreign born population could increase to at least 51,000 persons or 21% of the total population by the year 2000.

During the 1980's immigration was predominantly from Central America. The migration was dictated by events in Central America rather than by any active policy on the part of Belize. However, the 1990's has seen the advent of policies directed toward attracting immigrants from Asia into Belize. The actual effects of such policies are yet to be documented. Whether it is peasants from Central America or more economically affluent Asians, immigrants can have profound effects on the educational, health, cultural, social and economic services of the receiving country, if migration programmes are not managed and policed properly.

Population by Age

The mean age of the population in 1991 was 22.3 years compared to 21.8 in 1980 (Table 3.2). For persons born in Belize, the mean age was 21.2 and 21.1 in 1991 and 1980, respectively. For persons born abroad, the mean age was 29.0 in 1991 and 28.9 years in 1980. Thus, there was a

significant difference between the mean age of the Belize born population vis-a-vis the foreign born, but there was no significant difference in the mean age between the two census years.

In 1991, 43.9% of the total population, or 81,644 persons, were between 0-14 years of age; the corresponding figures in 1980 were 66,235 persons or 45.7%. Also for this age group, the locally born population increased by 19.4% to 75,646 persons in 1991; the foreign born population increased by 109.4% to 5,998 in 1991. The overall population increase for the age group was 23.3%.

In the age group 15-44 years, there were 79,580 persons in 1991, and these accounted for 42.8% of the total population. In 1980, there were 56,348 persons or 38.9% of the total population in the age group. With respect to intercensal changes, there was an overall 41.2% increase in 1991. The increase was 30.5% and 116.7% for the local born population and the foreign born population respectively. Hence, an immigrant into Belize during the 1980's was quite likely to be between the ages of 15 and 44 years of age.

The smallest rate of change from 1980 to 1991 was 0.2% for Belize born persons in the 45 - 59 age group. The number of foreign born persons in this same age group increased by some 85% from 1980 to 1991. It would appear that Belize born emigrants during the 1980's were from the 45 to 59 age group.

Ethnicity

All persons interviewed are asked to indicate their ethnic, racial or national group. The responses to the ethnicity question indicate that the Mestizos (or Hispanics) and Creoles were the two largest groups. Together, these two groups accounted for about 73% of the total population. Tables 3.3 to 3.6 show the population by ethnicity. Immigrants to Belize were more likely to be Mestizo, and emigrants from Belize were more likely to be persons of African descent, either Creole or Garifuna. As a consequence of these movements, the ethnic composition of the population of Belize has shifted to the present structure outlined above. In 1980, Creoles had the largest single share.

The Mestizo population increased from 47,983 persons or 33.1% of total population in 1980 to 81,253 or 43.7% in 1991. The indications are that, during the 1980's, Mestizos were less likely to emigrate and that immigrants to Belize were predominantly Mestizos. The number of foreign born Mestizos increased from 5,399 in 1980 to 17,060 in 1991. This meant that 66.1% of the foreign born population, in 1991, were Mestizos. Over the 1980's, there was a 50.7% increase in Belize born Mestizos compared to a 216.4% increase in foreign born Mestizos. The figures are also consistent with the fact that immigrants were predominantly Central American. The conflict and turmoil in Central America has now abated so that one would expect considerable reduction in the number of migrants and in the rate of migration from the Central American republics.

The Creole population decreased by 3.8% from 1980 to 1991. The population decreased from 57,542 persons (39.7%) in 1980 to 55,364 persons (29.8%) in 1991. Emigration from the Creole community appears to have been very pronounced during the 1980's. There was a 3.6% decrease in Belize born Creoles and a corresponding 9.2% decrease in foreign born Creoles between 1980 and 1991 showing high levels of emigration out of the Creole community. The challenge to planners will be to stem or reverse this trend especially since Creoles tend to be well educated and skilled.

In 1991, the population of Garifunas was 12,335, up by only 1,315 over the 1980 figure, an increase of 11.9% over the period. The Garifuna population accounted for 6.6% and 7.6% of the

total population in 1991 and 1980, respectively. This would be supportive of the view that there was also significant emigration from the Garifuna community during the 1980's.

Mayas stood at 20,438 or about 11% of the total population in 1991. This compared to 13,822 or (9.5%) in 1980. The characteristics of Ketchi Maya and other Maya are also available from the census data. There was a significant number of Mayan immigrants into the Toledo District. This underscores the strong ties that appear to exist between Mayas in Toledo and Mayas in some parts of Guatemala, particularly those parts of Guatemala which border Belize.

The 'White/Caucasian' population, which includes Mennonites, increased by 20.2% during the 1980's. Figures relating to Mennonites can be made available separately from the 1991 census data but not from the 1980. The large increase in the size of this group is also due to immigration from the United States and the United Kingdom. The potential for development in the tourism sector has been one of the major attractions.

The ethnic group displaying the sharpest increase in its numbers from 1980 to 1991 was the Chinese. The Chinese population was up by 245.% to reach 748 persons in 1991; at least 75% of the Chinese were foreign born. This increase may be attributed to an explicit policy, which continues to be in place, aimed at attracting 'economic' migrants especially from the far east. The number of Belize born Chinese increased by 180% as compared to a 273% increase for foreign born Chinese.

There is a link between ethnicity and language, and in the 1991 census, there were two questions on language; one question asked about persons ability to speak English, and the other asked about ability to speak Spanish. The responses to the questions were classifiable into one of the following three categories (1) very well, (2) not so well, and (3) not at all. The main findings are summarized in Table 3.7. Almost one-quarter of the population (23.2%) of Belize did not speak English, the official language of the country. At the gender level, there were only marginal differences within each category.

Out of a total tabulable population of 185,970, just over half, 100,977 (54.3%) indicated an ability to speak English 'very well', 41,797 or 22.5% said 'not so well'.

Less than half of the population, 81,652 (43.9%) indicated an ability to speak Spanish 'very well', 20,555 (11.1%) said 'not so well' and the remaining 83,763 persons (45.0%) said 'not at all'.

Creoles accounted for 43.9% of persons that spoke English very well, and Mestizos 31.7%. The figures show that 8.6% of Creoles and 62.9% of Mestizos 'did not speak English at all'. On the other hand, Creoles were responsible for 6.7%, and Mestizos responsible for 80.5% of persons who spoke Spanish very well; Creoles and Mestizos accounted for 51.8% and 10.2%, respectively of persons who said they did not speak Spanish at all.

The shift in the ethnic composition and the challenges presented by lack of a 'national cultural identity' are only some of the issues that have been debated in relation to the effects of recent immigrants into Belize. Shoman (1990, p.11) argues that the Creoles fear of Latinization is well-founded because of the economic form of discrimination that has been characterized throughout Belize's history. Palacio (1993, p.20) contributed another dimension to the debate by putting forward the view that the Stann Creek District could become the area most likely to be affected by ethnic disturbances between Central American immigrants and Belizeans of African descent.

Religion

The religious preference of the population is shown in Table 3.8 and Table 3.9.. Indications are that there were at least 14 types of religious denominations associated with the population of

Belize, and that in both 1991 and 1980, the majority religion was Roman Catholic. Even though the percent of Roman Catholics in the total population had declined from 61.7% in 1980 to 57.8% in 1991, there was a 20.2% increase in the absolute number of Roman Catholics during the 1980's. There were 107,465 and 89,421 Roman Catholics in 1991 and 1980, respectively. Over 50% of the immigrants during the 1980's were Roman Catholics.

Over the period of the 1980's, the population of Anglicans decreased by 24.3%, and that of Methodists decreased by 9.7%. The second largest religious denomination, in both 1991 and 1980, was Anglican; in 1991, Anglicans accounted for 12,913 persons or 6.9% of the total population, down from 17,056 persons or 11.8% of the total population in 1980.

The Pentecostal and Baptist religious denominations recorded the largest increases in population during the intercensal years. The population of Pentecostal increased from 4,367 persons (3.0%) in 1980 to 11,708 (6.3%) in 1991, an increase of about 168%. The population of Baptists increased from 1,234 persons (0.9%) in 1980 to 4,568 (2.5%) in 1991, an increase of at least 270%.

The Hindu population increased by 135% during the 1980's. This appears to be related to the 136% increase in the number of foreign born East Indians.

Finally, there was a very significant increase of over 453% in the number of persons who indicated 'None' as their religion; the percent of the total population in this category was 5.3% in 1991 and 1.2% in 1980.

Education

There were 57,401 persons attending school in 1991, and this represented a 32.6% increase over the corresponding figure for 1980. These figures suggest that 30.9% and 29.9% of the total population were attending school in 1991 and 1980, respectively. Over the 1980's, there was a 27.8% increase in the number of local born persons attending school; the comparable figure for the foreign born population was almost 135%.

Table 3.10 highlights the population attending school by age and gender. The percent distribution by age of those attending school shifted slightly from 1980 to 1991. The most significant increases in the population attending school were for persons under 5 years of age and those persons who were at least 20 years old. The number of persons below the age of five years who attended school increased from 1,700 (3.9%) in 1980 to 2,799 (4.9%) in 1991. The increase here was primarily due to the opening of more preschools throughout the country. The number of persons who were at least 20 years old and attending school increased from 593 (1.4%) in 1980 to 1,498 (2.6%) in 1991. This increase was due to the establishment of sixth form facilities in some district towns and the formation of the University College of Belize.

The census data also indicate that not all persons in the 5-14 age group attended school. In both 1980 and 1991, just under 90% of the total population in this age group were attending school.

Table 3.11 features the population attending school by type of institution, country of birth and gender. In 1991, the number of persons in nursery/pre-school was 5,079 - a 47.3% decrease over the 1980 number. There was, however, a 53.0% increase in the number of persons attending primary level institutions; the total number being 41,809 in 1991. It is apparent that some institutions classified as nursery/pre-school in 1980 were either being classified as primary in 1991 or that the information captured a genuine change in the status of some institutions by 1991.

The number of persons attending a university increased by over 850% from 53 in 1980 to 506 in 1991. This reflected the impact that the University College of Belize (UCB), which was

established in the mid-1980's, was having on education in the country. The UCB has established a Junior College in Belmopan, and plans for a UCB Junior College is underway for the Toledo district. The trend towards increased enrollment at tertiary level institutions is likely to continue.

Males outnumbered females at nursery/pre-school and primary school, and females were more likely to outnumber males at secondary school and higher levels of education.

The population by certificate, diploma or degree passed are shown in Tables 3.12 and 3.13. The percent of persons with 'none' as highest exam passed was 44.0% and 77.2% in 1991 and 1980, respectively. There was a very large 'not stated' category in 1991, and this accounted for approximately one-quarter of the population. The local born population registered a decrease of 32% in 'none' as the highest exam passed. For the foreign born population there was an increase of 29%.

Table 3.14 features the adult population by formal training received, and by how the training was received, country of birth, and gender. The subpopulation here are those persons who were at least 14 years old at the time of the census. There were 11,072 adults with formal training in 1991, as compared to 8,856 in 1980, and this represented an increase of about 25%. Training is very important to prepare persons, not only to enter the labour market, but also to be more productive when they enter the labour force.

The percent increase in the number of local born persons with formal training between 1980 and 1991 was 29.6%. The comparable figure for the foreign born population was 5.8%. This suggest that the foreign born population were predominantly unskilled persons. Such unskilled persons may be effectively employed in elementary occupations in the sugar, citrus, banana and other industries. They would be unsuitable for the tourism, finance and high technology industries that some analysts are advocating as well suited for Belize's development.

Economic Activity During Previous 12 Months

For the purposes of the census the economic activity of persons who were at least 15 years of age was assessed. Assessments based on two time periods were made. One relates to economic activity during the week prior to the census, and the second to economic activity during the twelve months preceding the census. Details relating the former are discussed in Chapter 7 of this report. Details relating to the later are discussed below. One advantage of analyzing activity during the previous twelve months is that the effects of seasonality on overall economic activity are reflected in the information.

Working Age Population

The total working age population was comprised of all persons who were at least 15 years old at the time of the census. The 1991 working age population was 104,326 persons (56.1%). In 1980 it included 78,615 persons (54.3%). Over the interval there was an increase in absolute terms of almost 33%. If such trends continue, the working age population could increase to approximately 140,000 by the turn of the century, and there would be added pressure on tertiary level and continuing education programmes and on the job market. The working age population by economic activity in the previous 12 months, and by district and gender are displayed in Tables 3.15 and 3.16..

The economically active population is made up of both employed and unemployed persons. Some data on this share of the population are shown in Tables 3.17 and 3.18. The employed population increased by 41.4% over the 1980's. The increase in the foreign born population was 114.2% compared to 29.9% for the local born population. Part of the reason for this may be that a

significant proportion of foreign born persons were engaged in some activities, (such as in the banana and citrus industries), which local born persons have traditionally avoided. The agricultural sector accounts for the largest percent of employment, and since agriculture is rurally based, it was not surprising to find that the increase in the employed population over the 1980's was a little higher (44.7%) in rural (44.7%) than urban (38.4%)Belize.

It appears that significant proportions of the employed population were secure in their employment. The number of persons employed for twelve months increased by almost 50%. There was a 2.4% increase in the number of persons who had only worked one month during the previous twelve months.

The number of unemployed persons decreased by 9.2% from 1,849 in 1980 to 1,678 in 1991. Unemployment was determined by finding out whether respondents, who were not working, either sought work or were willing and available for work. Unemployment was up for members of the foreign born population, but it was down for members of the local born population. Unemployment was also up for the rural population, but it was down for the urban population.

The other major segment of the working age population is the economically inactive population; there was a 60.8% increase in this group between 1980 and 1991. The economically inactive population comprises persons engaged in home or family duties, those attending school, the retired and the disabled. The rise in this category was associated with a decrease in the unemployed; hence, one issue for analysts was whether there was an economic climate in Belize that would have caused 'discouraged workers' to be classified under the economically inactive rather than as unemployed. Out of the four sub-groups under the economically inactive, the group with persons attending school accounted for the most significant increase; those engaged in home or family duties rank third after the retired. Females accounted for over 95% of persons engaged in home or family duties, and it may well be that, given appropriate training programmes, some of these females would be confident and capable of entering the labour market. It was mentioned earlier that there were more persons taking advantage of the increase in educational facilities. However, it is also likely that limitations in job opportunities and/or a desire to obtain better qualifications for a competitive marketplace could also encourage more persons to further their education.

There was a third category of some persons in the working age population who could not be categorized as either economically active or economically inactive. Such persons were classified as 'other/not stated', and such persons accounted for 1.1% and 4.6% of the total population in 1991 and 1980, respectively.

Participation Rate

The participation rate measures the extent to which members of the working age population are prepared to forgo leisure and other activities in order to engage in some form of economic activity, the extent to which the economy can provide jobs. Participation rates are highlighted in Table 3.19. The overall participation rate increased marginally from 52.0% in 1980 to 54.5% in 1991. The participation rate for males remained constant at 83% and as more females are prepared to enter the labour market, their participation rate increased from 21.0% in 1980 to 25.8% in 1991. The highest participation rate was for persons in the 20 - 44 age group; for this age group, the male participation rate was 94.6% and 92.9% in 1991 and 1980, respectively. The participation rate for females was 33.4% in 1991, compared to 25.9% in 1980.

The participation rate in rural Belize was constant at about 53%, but there was an increase in the urban rate from 50.6% to 55.9%. At the district level, Belize district registered the most significant increase in participation rate from 53.2% to 58.4%. Given the increased trend for females to become economically active, it seems that planners and employers will need to start giving consideration to the development and/or improvement of creche facilities, the development of standards for such facilities, and the establishment of training programmes for persons who manage or work in such institutions. These should go some way towards giving confidence to some mothers who might otherwise find it difficult to enter the labour market.

Unemployment Rate

The unemployment rates associated with sub-populations are featured in Table 3.20. There was a significant fall in the unemployment rate from 4.5% in 1980 to 2.9% in 1991. Males had higher unemployment compared to females - in 1991 the rate was 3.3% for males as compared to 1.7% for females. The unemployment for males, in 1980, was 4.5%, and it was 4.4% for females. In rural Belize the rate remained steady at about 2.5%, but for urban Belize there was a decrease from 6.2% to 3.4% over the 1980's.

The low unemployment rates registered may underscore the prevalence of high levels of underemployed persons, 'discouraged workers', and informal workers. A range of studies may be necessary to explore these issues. In any case, given the right training, support, and incentives, a segment of the economically inactive population may be attracted into the labour market.

Number and Size of Households

The number of households in the country was 37,944 in 1991 and 27,298 in 1980; the 1991 figure represented an increase of about 39% over the 1980 figure. The figures suggest that, on average, there were 4.9 persons per household in 1991, down from 5.3 persons per household in 1980. There were 3.2 persons per household associated with foreign born heads of households in both 1980 and 1991; the corresponding figure for native heads was 5.6 persons in 1980 and 5.4 persons in 1991. These statistics might be surprising to most readers, but the size of households associated with foreign born heads would be greatly affected by the significant number of one person households which typify the sugarcane and citrus field workers.

Table 3.23 highlights the number of households by size. There were 4,157 one-person households in 1991 compared to 3,807 in 1980; an increase of 9.2%. The number of households with nine or more persons increased marginally from 4,244 in 1980 to 4,288 in 1991.

The mean age of heads of households decreased from 44.3 years in 1980 to 43.3 years in 1991 with the male head of household having a mean age of 42.0 years and 42.9 years in 1991 and 1980, respectively, and female heads of households showing a mean age which decreased from 49.0 years in 1980 to 47.8 years in 1991.

Marital Status of Heads of Households

Table 3.22 shows that the majority of heads of households were married, but married heads also exhibited the lowest rate of change, 32.4%, during the intercensal years. The number of married heads of households was 20,610 (54.3%) in 1991 as compared to 15,562 (57.0%) in 1980. The highest rates of change during intercensal years were 259.9% and 217.5% for legally separated and divorced heads, respectively.

Over 30% of male heads of households had never married compared to 48% of females in both 1991 and 1980. Approximately 65% of males had been married compared to approximately 25% of females. There was also a significant difference at the gender level for heads of households who were widowed. The percent of widowed males was about 6.4%, and it was approximately 20% for females. For country of birth, the number of Belizean born head of households that were married increased by 23.0% over the 1980's. The corresponding increase for the foreign born was 82.1%.

Table 3.1: Population by Place of birth, District and Gender; 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
AREA	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
COUNTRY TOTAL						
TOTAL (=100%)	185,970	93,968	92,002	144,850	72,830	72,020
URBAN	47.0	45.4	48.6	51.8	49.7	53.9
RURAL	53.0	54.6	51.4	48.2	50.3	46.1
Corozal	15.3	15.4	15.2	15.8	16.3	15.2
Orange Walk	16.4	16.9	15.9	15.7	16.3	15.1
Belize	29.5	28.7	30.2	35.0	34.0	35.9
Cayo	20.1	20.1	20.0	15.8	15.8	15.8
Stann Creek	9.4	9.6	9.2	9.8	9.7	9.9
Toledo	9.4	9.4	9.4	8.0	7.9	8.1
BELIZE BORN	86.1	85.3	87.0	91.1	90.2	91.9
Corozal	13.7	13.6	13.8	14.2	14.4	14.0
Orange Walk	14.2	14.4	13.9	13.8	14.2	13.3
Belize	27.0	26.2	27.9	32.8	31.8	33.8
Cayo	15.5	15.5	15.5	14.1	13.9	14.2
Stann Creek	7.6	7.5	7.7	8.8	8.7	9.0
Toledo	8.0	7.9	8.2	7.4	7.3	7.6
FOREIGN BORN	13.9	14.7	13.0	8.9	9.8	8.1
Corozal	1.6	1.8	1.4	1.6	1.9	1.2
Orange Walk	2.3	2.4	2.1	1.9	2.1	1.8
Belize	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.1
Cayo	4.5	4.5	4.5	1.7	1.8	1.6
Stann Creek	1.8	2.1	1.5	0.9	1.0	0.9
Toledo	1.4	1.5	1.2	0.6	0.6	0.6

Table 3.2: Population by Country of birth, Broad Age Groups and Gender; 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
AGE GROUPS	TOTAL	Belize	Abroad	TOTAL	Belize	Abroad
BOTH SEXES						
TOTAL (=100%)	185,970	160,163	25,807	144,850	131,910	12,940
0 - 14	43.9	47.2	23.2	45.7	48.0	22.1
15 - 44	42.8	40.2	58.8	38.9	37.4	54.1
45 - 49	7.2	6.6	11.1	8.3	8.0	11.9
60 & over	6.1	6.0	6.9	6.4	6.2	8.4
Not Stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.4	3.5
MALE						
Total	50.5	50.0	53.7	50.3	49.8	54.9
0 - 14	22.2	23.9	11.6	22.9	24.1	11.1
15 - 44	21.5	19.9	31.5	19.6	18.6	30.1
45 - 59	3.8	3.3	6.5	4.3	4.0	7.0
60 & over	3.0	2.9	4.1	3.1	2.9	4.9
Not Stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.2	1.9
FEMALE						
Total	49.5	50.0	46.3	49.7	50.2	45.1
0 - 14	21.7	23.3	11.6	22.8	23.9	11.1
15 - 44	21.3	20.3	27.3	19.3	18.8	24.0
45 - 59	3.4	3.2	4.6	4.0	3.9	5.0
60 & over	3.1	3.1	2.8	3.3	3.3	3.5
Not Stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.2	1.5

Table 3.3: Belize Born Population by Ethnicity and Gender; 1991 Census

ETHNICITY	TOTAL	Corozal	Orange Walk	Belize	Cayo	Stann Creek	Toledo
BOTH SEXES							
TOTAL (=100%)	160,163	25,515	26,315	50,270	28,906	14,177	14,980
Creole	33.8	8.1	8.3	72.6	28.4	30.1	6.5
East Indian	3.8	6.4	1.0	3.3	1.8	4.4	9.1
Chinese	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0
Maya	11.5	5.0	10.0	1.2	9.9	9.8	64.9
Garifuna	7.3	1.3	1.3	5.4	2.1	42.2	10.8
White/Caucasian	2.8	4.4	7.4	0.3	4.2	0.1	0.2
Mestizo	40.1	74.5	71.6	16.4	52.9	11.6	7.9
Other	0.6	0.1	0.5	0.6	0.6	1.7	0.6
TOTAL MALE	50.0	50.3	51.6	49.1	50.5	49.8	49.4
Creole	16.8	4.0	4.4	35.6	14.2	15.4	3.5
East Indian	1.9	3.4	0.5	1.6	1.0	2.2	4.6
Chinese	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Maya	5.9	2.6	5.4	0.7	5.0	5.1	32.2
Garifuna	3.4	0.6	0.7	2.6	1.1	19.7	4.8
White/Caucasian	1.5	2.3	3.8	0.2	2.3	0.0	0.1
Mestizo	20.2	37.3	36.5	8.1	26.8	6.4	3.8
Other	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.9	0.3
TOTAL FEMALE	50.0	49.7	48.4	50.9	49.5	50.2	50.6
Creole	17.0	4.1	3.9	37.0	14.3	14.7	3.0
East Indian	1.9	3.0	0.5	1.7	0.9	2.2	4.5
Chinese	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Maya	5.7	2.4	4.6	0.5	4.8	4.7	32.6
Garifuna	3.8	0.7	0.6	2.8	1.0	22.5	5.9
White/Caucasian	1.3	2.2	3.4	0.1	1.9	0.0	0.1
Mestizo	19.9	37.2	35.1	8.3	26.2	5.2	4.1
Other	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.3

Table 3.4: Belize Born Population by Ethnicity and Gender; 1980 Census

ETHNICITY	TOTAL	Corozal	Orange Walk	Belize	Cayo	Stann Creek	Toledo
BOTH SEXES							
TOTAL (=100%)	131,910	20,570	19,947	47,463	20,359	12,804	10,767
Creole	42.6	18.1	12.6	78.3	34.1	35.3	12.5
East Indian	2.2	3.1	0.2	1.5	1.1	2.2	9.1
Chinese	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Maya	9.9	14.5	7.8	0.8	5.4	6.3	57.7
Garifuna	7.9	2.2	2.4	3.3	2.1	47.7	12.7
White/Caucasian	2.3	1.1	8.8	0.2	4.9	0.1	0.2
Mestizo	32.3	58.3	67.2	12.3	49.0	6.3	5.3
Other	2.8	2.8	1.0	3.5	3.4	2.1	2.4
TOTAL MALE	49.8	50.8	51.8	48.8	49.8	49.3	49.4
Creole	21.1	9.2	6.9	38.1	17.1	18.3	6.5
East Indian	1.1	1.6	0.1	0.7	0.6	1.1	4.6
Chinese	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Maya	4.9	7.6	0.3	0.3	2.6	3.2	28.8
Garifuna	3.7	1.1	1.7	1.7	1.1	22.3	5.6
White/Caucasian	1.2	0.5	0.1	0.1	2.5	0.1	0.1
Mestizo	16.3	29.5	6.1	6.1	24.2	3.5	2.7
Other	1.3	1.3	1.8	1.8	1.7	0.9	0.9
TOTAL FEMALE	50.2	49.2	48.2	51.2	50.2	50.7	50.6
Creole	21.5	8.9	40.2	40.2	17.0	17.0	6.0
East Indian	1.1	1.5	0.8	0.8	0.5	1.1	4.5
Chinese	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Maya	4.8	6.9	0.4	0.4	2.8	3.1	28.8
Garifuna	4.1	1.1	1.7	1.7	1.0	25.4	7.1
White/Caucasian	1.1	0.5	0.1	0.1	2.4	0.0	0.1
Mestizo	16.0	28.8	6.2	6.2	24.8	2.8	2.5
Other	1.4	1.4	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.1	1.4

Table 3.5: Foreign Born Population by Ethnicity and Gender; 1991 Census

ETHNICITY	TOTAL	Corozal	Orange Walk	Belize	Cayo	Stann Creek	Toledo
BOTH SEXES							
TOTAL (=100%)	25,807	2,904	4,190	4,508	8,399	3,300	2,506
Creole	4.6	3.3	1.4	16.0	2.1	3.5	1.0
East Indian	1.4	2.6	1.1	2.4	0.9	1.3	0.6
Chinese	2.2	1.9	1.6	8.5	0.4	0.5	0.2
Maya	7.7	4.4	3.7	1.7	4.1	0.8	50.7
Garifuna	2.8	0.8	0.7	4.1	0.2	10.1	5.5
White/Caucasian	10.8	15.5	18.3	9.3	10.8	3.8	5.0
Mestizo	66.2	70.6	72.1	44.9	78.5	75.7	36.0
Other	4.2	0.8	1.1	13.1	3.0	4.2	1.0
TOTAL MALE	53.7	57.0	54.1	51.7	50.7	58.6	56.4
Creole	2.4	0.7	0.7	7.8	1.3	1.8	0.6
East Indian	0.7	0.6	0.6	1.4	0.5	0.7	0.2
Chinese	1.3	1.0	1.0	5.1	0.3	0.3	0.1
Maya	4.1	2.5	2.5	0.7	2.0	0.5	26.9
Garifuna	1.4	0.3	0.3	2.2	0.1	5.2	2.5
White/Caucasian	5.8	9.4	9.4	5.4	5.6	2.3	2.7
Mestizo	35.5	38.7	38.7	21.9	39.3	45.6	22.8
Other	2.3	0.6	0.6	7.3	1.6	2.2	0.6
TOTAL FEMALE	46.3	43.0	45.9	48.3	49.3	41.4	43.6
Creole	2.2	1.5	0.6	8.2	0.8	1.7	0.4
East Indian	0.7	1.3	0.5	1.0	0.4	0.7	0.4
Chinese	0.8	0.7	0.6	3.4	0.2	0.2	0.0
Maya	3.6	1.8	1.1	0.9	2.1	0.4	23.7
Garifuna	1.4	0.3	0.4	2.0	0.1	4.9	3.0
White/Caucasian	5.0	7.2	8.9	4.0	5.2	1.5	2.3
Mestizo	30.7	30.0	33.4	22.9	39.2	30.0	13.2
Other	1.9	0.3	0.5	5.8	1.3	2.1	0.4

Table 3.6: Foreign Born Population by Ethnicity and Gender; 1980 Census

ETHNICITY	TOTAL	Corozal	Orange Walk	Belize	Cayo	Stann Creek	Toledo
BOTH SEXES							
TOTAL (=100%)	12,940	2,251	2,814	3,180	2,460	1,363	872
Creole	10.2	6.5	2.2	26.0	5.4	8.7	3.8
East Indian	1.2	0.9	0.5	2.8	0.6	0.6	1.3
Chinese	1.2	1.1	0.3	3.1	0.3	0.9	0.2
Maya	6.3	10.3	2.5	0.9	2.0	0.6	47.2
Garifuna	4.8	3.1	1.4	2.0	0.4	24.5	11.8
White/Caucasian	22.7	7.3	47.2	14.3	34.4	4.0	10.7
Mestizo	41.7	59.0	44.1	25.8	49.2	49.9	13.8
Other	12.0	11.8	1.8	25.2	7.6	10.9	11.2
TOTAL MALE	54.9	61.8	55.0	51.8	53.9	54.3	52.6
Creole	5.1	3.6	1.3	12.3	3.0	5.1	1.6
East Indian	0.7	0.5	0.2	1.5	0.4	0.2	0.9
Chinese	0.7	0.6	0.1	1.8	0.2	0.5	0.1
Maya	3.5	6.4	1.6	0.5	1.1	0.3	25.3
Garifuna	2.4	2.1	0.6	1.1	0.3	11.4	5.4
White/Caucasian	11.9	3.8	24.0	8.6	17.3	2.4	6.0
Mestizo	24.1	38.6	26.1	11.8	27.3	28.9	8.1
Other	6.6	6.0	1.1	14.2	4.4	5.4	5.3
TOTAL FEMALE	45.1	38.2	45.0	48.2	46.1	45.7	47.4
Creole	5.1	2.9	0.9	13.7	2.5	3.6	2.2
East Indian	0.5	0.4	0.2	1.3	0.2	0.4	0.3
Chinese	0.5	0.5	0.1	1.3	0.1	0.4	0.1
Maya	2.7	3.9	0.9	0.5	1.0	0.2	22.0
Garifuna	2.4	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.1	13.1	6.4
White/Caucasian	10.8	3.5	23.2	5.8	17.1	1.5	4.7
Mestizo	17.7	20.3	18.0	14.0	22.0	21.0	5.6
Other	5.4	5.8	0.7	10.9	3.2	5.5	6.0

Table 3.7: Population by Ethnicity, Gender and Ability to Speak English/Spanish; 1991 Census

ETHNICITY	TOTAL	Very Well	Not So Well	Not At All
ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH				
TOTAL (=100%)	185,970	100,977	41,797	43,196
Creole	29.8	43.9	17.6	8.6
East Indian	3.5	5.1	2.1	1.0
Chinese	0.4	0.3	0.9	0.3
Ketchi Maya	4.3	2.5	6.2	6.7
Other Maya	6.7	3.8	11.4	8.9
Garifuna	6.6	9.2	5.1	2.2
White/Caucasian	0.8	1.4	0.1	0.1
Mennonite	3.1	0.9	2.8	8.6
Mestizo	43.7	31.7	52.9	62.9
Other	1.1	1.3	0.9	0.7
ABILITY TO SPEAK SPANISH				
TOTAL (=100%)	185,970	81,652	20,555	83,763
Creole	29.8	6.7	31.8	51.8
East Indian	3.5	1.7	6.0	4.6
Chinese	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.7
Ketchi Maya	4.3	0.8	3.3	7.9
Other Maya	6.7	7.0	6.9	6.4
Garifuna	6.6	1.5	7.5	11.4
White/Caucasian	0.8	0.3	2.5	0.8
Mennonite	3.1	0.5	5.6	5.0
Mestizo	43.7	80.5	34.2	10.2
Other	1.1	1.0	1.6	1.1

Table 3.8: Population by Religion and Place of Birth, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
	TOTAL	Belize	Abroad	TOTAL	Belize	Abroad
TOTAL (=100%)	185,970	160,163	25,807	144,850	131,910	12,940
Anglican	6.9	7.8	1.9	11.8	12.5	4.1
Baptist	2.5	2.6	1.4	0.9	0.8	1.1
Hindu	0.1	0.0	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.7
Jehovah Witness	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.0
Mennonite	4.0	3.6	6.6	3.9	2.8	15.6
Methodist	4.2	4.7	1.2	6.0	6.4	2.0
Mormon	0:3	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nazarene	2.5	2.8	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pentecostal	6.3	5.5	11.0	3.0	2.9	4.7
Roman Catholic	57.8	58.7	52.1	61.7	62.9	50.3
Bahai Faith	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Seventh Day	4.1	4.2	3.2	3.0	3.0	3.0
Salvation Army	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1
Muslim	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3
Other	3.4	2.8	7.0	3.8	3.6	5.5
None	5.3	4.5	10.0	1.2	1.0	3.3
Not Stated	0.7	0.6	1.2	3.3	2.8	8.3

Table 3.9: Population by Religion and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
TOTAL (=100%)	185,970	160,163	25,807	144,850	131,910	12,940
Anglican	6.9	6.9	7.0	11.8	11.7	11.8
Baptist	2.5	2.3	2.6	0.9	0.8	0.9
Hindu	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Jehovah Witness	1.4	1.3	1.6	1.0	0.9	1.1
Mennonite	4.0	4.0	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9
Methodist	4.2	4.1	4.3	6.0	5.9	6.1
Mormon	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nazarene	2.5	2.4	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pentecostal	6.3	6.1	6.5	3.0	2.9	3.1
Roman Catholic	57.8	57.7	57.9	61.7	61.8	61.6
Bahai Faith	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Seventh Day	4.1	3.9	4.3	3.0	2.8	3.2
Salvation Army	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Muslim	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.8	3.8	3.8
None	5.3	6.2	4.4	1.2	1.5	0.9
Not Stated	0.7	0.7	0.6	3.3	3.4	3.2

Table 3.10: Population Attending School by Age and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	NUMBER			PERCENT		
Age	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
1980						
TOTAL	43,295	21,592	21,703	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5	1,700	821	879	3.9	3.8	4.1
5 - 9	19,426	9,698	9,728	44.9	44.9	44.8
10 - 14	16,688	8,431	8,257	38.5	39.0	38.0
15 - 19	4,730	2,298	2,432	10.9	10.6	11.2
20 & Over	593	282	311	1.4	1.3	1.4
Not Stated	158	62	96	0.4	0.3	0.4
1991						
TOTAL	57,401	28,812	28,589	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5	2,799	1,352	1,447	4.9	4.7	5.1
5 - 9	24,598	12,353	12,245	42.9	42.9	42.8
10 - 14	21,209	10,939	10,270	36.9	38.0	35.9
15 - 19	7,297	3,532	3,765	12.7	12.3	13.2
20 & Over	1,498	636	862	2.6	2.2	3.0
Not Stated	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Table 3.11: Population Attending School by Type of Institution, Country of Birth and Gender, 1991 & 1980

	1991			1980		
Type Of Institution	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
COUNTRY TOTAL						
TOTAL (=100%)	57,401	28,812	28,589	43,295	21,592	21,703
Nursery/Pre-school	8.8	8.8	8.9	22.3	22.4	22.2
Primary	72.8	74.3	71.4	63.1	64.0	62.2
Secondary	14.1	13.2	15.0	12.9	12.0	13.8
Post-secondary	2.2	2.0	2.4	1.0	1.0	1.0
University	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other	1.2	0.8	1.5	0.6	0.6	0.7
BELIZE BORN						
TOTAL (=100%)	52,938	26,554	26,384	41,395	20,675	20,720
Nursery/Pre-school	9.0	9.0	9.0	22.4	22.5	22.2
Primary	72.6	74.1	71.1	63.3	64.0	62.5
Secondary	14.3	13.3	15.3	12.7	11.9	13.5
Post-secondary	2.2	2.0	2.5	1.0	1.0	1.0
University	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other	1.0	0.7	1.3	0.6	0.6	0.7
FOREIGN BORN						
TOTAL (=100%)	4,463	2,258	2,205	1,900	917	983
Nursery/Pre-school	6.7	6.4	6.9	20.4	18.8	22.0
Primary	75.7	76.4	75.0	59.5	64.2	55.0
Secondary	11.6	11.6	11.7	16.7	14.4	18.9
Post-Secondary	1.6	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.0	1.6
University	1.5	1.3	1.7	1.2	1.0	1.3
Other	3.0	2.6	3.4	0.9	0.7	1.1

Table 3.12: Population by Highest Exam Passed and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Highest Exam Passed	**TOTAL**	**Male**	**Female**	**TOTAL**	**Male**	**Female**
TOTAL (=100%)	185,970	93,968	92,002	144,850	72,830	72,020
None	44.0	44.2	43.8	77.2	77.3	77.0
School leaving	26.5	25.9	27.1	13.5	13.1	13.9
Cambridge school certificate	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.6	1.5	1.7
GCE 'O' level / CXC	1.6	1.4	1.8	3.2	3.3	3.1
GCE 'A' level	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.8	0.3
Higher School certificate	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Diploma	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.8	0.8	0.9
Degree	1.1	1.4	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.2
Other	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not Stated	25.9	26.2	25.7	2.9	3.1	2.7

Table 3.13: Population by Highest Exam Passed, Country of Birth and Gender; 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Highest Exam Passed	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
BELIZE BORN						
TOTAL (=100%)	160,163	80,111	80,052	131,910	65,720	66,190
None	43.6	43.9	43.3	77.7	77.8	77.6
School leaving	27.6	27.0	28.2	14.1	13.8	14.3
Cambridge School Certificate	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.6	1.5	1.7
GCE 'O' level / CXC	1.8	1.5	2.0	3.1	3.2	3.0
GCE 'A' level	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.1
Higher School Certificate	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Diploma	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.7
Degree	0.7	1.0	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.2
Other	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not Stated	24.7	25.0	24.3	2.5	2.5	2.4
FOREIGN BORN						
TOTAL (=100%)	25,807	13,857	11,950	12,940	7,110	5,830
None	46.5	46.1	46.9	71.7	72.2	71.1
School leaving	19.6	19.4	19.8	7.9	6.8	9.1
Cambridge School Certificate	0.1	0.1	0.1	2.0	1.8	2.3
GCE 'O' level / CXC	0.6	0.6	0.5	4.5	4.0	5.1
GCE 'A' level	0.1	0.1	0.1	3.4	4.4	2.2
Higher School Certificate	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Diploma	0.6	0.6	0.6	3.0	2.8	3.3
Degree	3.5	4.1	2.8	0.2	0.2	0.2
Other	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not Stated	27.9	27.9	28.0	7.3	7.8	6.7

Table 3.14: Adult Population with Formal Education by How Training Received, Country of Birth and Gender; 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
How Training Received	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
COUNTRY TOTAL						
TOTAL (=100%)	11,072	7,176	3,896	8,856	5,817	3,039
Correspondence	7.5	8.8	5.2	4.8	5.4	3.6
On the Job	40.0	44.2	32.4	24.6	28.7	16.7
Apprenticeship	8.8	8.9	8.5	19.1	20.4	16.7
Institution	39.3	34.2	48.7	14.5	11.0	21.1
Other	3.6	3.2	4.4	4.0	4.3	3.5
Not Stated	0.7	0.7	0.8	33.1	30.3	38.4
BELIZE BORN						
TOTAL	83.8	83.2	84.8	80.9	80.5	81.6
Correspondence	6.5	7.6	4.6	4.1	4.7	3.0
On the Job	34.4	37.7	28.3	21.5	25.0	14.8
Apprenticeship	7.1	7.2	7.1	14.5	15.7	12.1
Institution	32.3	28.0	40.4	12.8	9.4	19.2
Other	2.9	2.3	3.9	2.9	3.2	2.4
Not Stated	0.6	0.6	0.6	25.1	22.5	30.1
FOREIGN BORN						
TOTAL	16.2	16.8	15.2	19.1	19.5	18.4
Correspondence	1.0	1.2	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6
On the Job	5.7	6.5	4.1	3.1	3.7	1.9
Apprenticeship	1.7	1.8	1.5	4.7	4.7	4.6
Institution	7.0	6.3	8.3	1.7	1.5	2.0
Other	0.8	0.9	0.5	1.1	1.1	1.1
Not Stated	0.2	0.1	0.2	8.0	7.8	8.3

Table 3.15: Working Age Population by District, Economic Activity During Previous Twelve Months and Gender, 1991 Census

District	Working Age Population	Employed Population	Unemployed Population	Economically Inactive	Other & Not Stated
BOTH SEXES					
TOTAL (=100%)	104,326	55,218	1,678	46,239	1,191
Corozal	15.5	14.9	8.9	16.4	4.3
Orange Walk	16.1	15.9	10.4	16.7	9.2
Belize	31.8	33.9	40.6	28.4	54.1
Cayo	19.3	19.2	18.7	19.6	13.8
Stann Creek	9.2	8.8	13.1	9.5	13.9
Toledo	8.2	7.4	8.3	9.3	4.9
MALE					
TOTAL	50.5	76.2	86.8	17.7	79.3
Corozal	8.0	12.7	7.8	2.4	3.6
Orange Walk	8.5	13.6	9.4	2.4	8.2
Belize	15.4	21.8	32.7	6.4	41.4
Cayo	9.6	14.5	16.9	3.5	10.6
Stann Creek	4.8	7.0	12.1	1.8	11.0
Toledo	4.2	6.5	7.9	1.3	4.5
FEMALE					
TOTAL	49.5	23.8	13.2	82.3	20.7
Corozal	7.4	2.2	1.1	14.1	0.7
Orange Walk	7.6	2.3	1.0	14.3	0.9
Belize	16.4	12.1	7.9	22.1	12.7
Cayo	9.7	4.7	1.7	16.0	3.2
Stann Creek	4.4	1.7	1.0	7.7	2.9
Toledo	4.0	0.8	0.5	8.0	0.4

Table 3.16: Working Age Population by District, Economic Activity During Previous Twelve Months and Gender; 1980 Census

District	Working Age Population	Employed Population	Unemployed Population	Economically Inactive	Other & Not Stated
BOTH SEXES					
TOTAL (=100%)	78,615	39,052	1,849	34,101	3,613
Corozal	15.6	16.4	6.8	15.8	10.3
Orange Walk	15.4	15.8	5.8	16.4	6.5
Belize	37.1	37.0	58.2	34.3	54.7
Cayo	15.2	15.0	12.9	16.0	11.5
Stann Creek	9.3	9.1	12.0	9.2	12.1
Toledo	7.3	6.8	4.4	8.3	4.8
MALE					
TOTAL	50.4	79.9	80.3	13.8	61.3
Corozal	8.3	14.6	6.4	1.5	5.7
Orange Walk	8.1	14.4	4.6	1.4	4.6
Belize	18.2	25.7	45.4	6.6	33.4
Cayo	7.6	12.3	10.4	2.1	7.6
Stann Creek	4.6	7.0	9.3	1.4	7.1
Toledo	3.5	6.0	4.1	0.7	3.0
FEMALE					
TOTAL	49.6	20.1	19.7	86.2	38.7
Corozal	7.3	1.8	0.3	14.3	4.6
Orange Walk	7.3	1.4	1.2	15.1	2.0
Belize	18.9	11.3	12.8	27.7	21.3
Cayo	7.6	2.8	2.4	13.8	4.0
Stann Creek	4.7	2.1	2.7	7.7	5.0
Toledo	3.7	0.7	0.3	7.6	1.9

Table 3.17: Working Age Population by Country of Birth, Economic Activity During Previous Twelve Months and Gender; 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
	TOTAL	Belize	Abroad	TOTAL	Belize	Abroad
BOTH SEXES						
Total Working Age Population (=100%)	104,326	84,517	19,809	78,615	68,539	10,076
Employed	52.9	51.8	57.6	49.7	49.2	52.8
Unemployed	1.6	1.6	1.5	2.4	2.5	1.1
Economically Inactive	44.9	45.9	40.4	37.0	37.6	33.3
Other / Not stated	0.6	0.6	0.5	10.9	10.7	12.7
MALE						
Total Working Age Population (=100%)	52,667	41,811	10,856	39,602	33,925	5,677
Employed	79.9	78.0	87.5	78.8	78.6	80.3
Unemployed	2.8	2.8	2.5	3.7	4.1	1.5
Economically Inactive	16.6	18.4	9.6	5.8	5.9	4.8
Other / Not stated	0.7	0.8	0.5	11.7	11.4	13.5
FEMALE						
Total Working Age Population (=100%)	51,659	42,706	8,953	39,013	34,614	4,399
Employed	25.4	26.3	21.3	20.1	20.4	17.5
Unemployed	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.9	1.0	0.7
Economically Inactive	73.7	72.8	77.9	68.7	68.6	70.1
Other / Not stated	0.5	0.5	0.5	10.2	10.0	11.7

Table 3.18: Working Age Population by Urban/Rural, Economic Activity During Previous Twelve Months and Gender; 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
	TOTAL	Urban	Rural	TOTAL	Urban	Rural
BOTH SEXES						
Total Working Age Population (=100%)	104,326	52,436	51,890	78,615	43,044	35,571
Employed	52.9	53.9	51.9	49.7	47.5	52.3
Unemployed	1.6	1.9	1.3	2.4	3.2	1.4
Economically Inactive	44.9	43.1	46.6	37.0	34.5	40.1
Other / Not stated	0.6	1.0	0.2	10.9	14.9	6.2
MALE						
Total Working Age Population (=100%)	52,667	25,053	27,614	39,602	20,398	19,204
Employed	79.9	74.5	84.9	78.8	71.1	87.0
Unemployed	2.8	3.4	2.2	3.7	5.3	2.1
Economically Inactive	16.6	20.8	12.8	5.8	6.9	4.6
Other / Not stated	0.7	1.3	0.2	11.7	16.7	6.3
FEMALE						
Total Working Age Population (=100%)	51,659	42,706	8,953	39,013	34,614	4,399
Employed	25.4	35.2	14.4	20.1	26.2	11.7
Unemployed	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.9	1.2	0.5
Economically Inactive	73.7	63.6	85.1	68.7	59.3	81.8
Other / Not stated	0.5	0.7	0.2	10.2	13.3	6.0

Table 3.19: Participation Rate Based on Economic Activity Previous Twelve Months by Area and Gender; 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Area	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
COUNTRY TOTAL	54.5	82.7	25.8	52.0	82.6	21.0
URBAN	55.9	77.9	35.7	50.6	76.4	27.5
RURAL	53.2	87.0	14.7	53.7	89.1	12.2
Corozal	52.3	86.3	15.3	53.0	88.9	12.3
Orange Walk	53.3	86.5	16.3	51.7	90.0	9.6
Belize	58.4	78.5	39.6	53.2	76.0	31.2
Cayo	54.2	82.6	26.0	51.0	83.2	18.8
Stann Creek	52.5	80.9	21.4	51.4	79.4	23.9
Toledo	49.1	85.5	10.9	47.6	87.4	10.1

Table 3.20: Unemployment Rate Based on Economic Activity Previous Twelve Months by Area and Gender; 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Area	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
COUNTRY TOTAL	2.9	3.3	1.7	4.5	4.5	4.4
URBAN	3.4	4.4	1.5	6.2	6.9	4.5
RURAL	2.5	2.5	2.1	2.6	2.4	4.2
Corozal	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.9	2.0	0.8
Orange Walk	2.0	2.1	1.3	1.7	1.5	4.0
Belize	3.5	4.4	2.0	6.9	7.7	5.1
Cayo	2.9	3.4	1.1	3.9	3.9	4.0
Stann Creek	4.3	5.0	1.7	5.9	6.0	5.5
Toledo	3.3	3.5	1.8	3.0	3.1	2.0

Table 3.21: Economically Inactive Population During Past 12 Months by Country of Birth and Gender; 1991 and 1980

Economically Inactive	**TOTAL**	**Belize**	**Abroad**	**TOTAL**	**Belize**	**Abroad**
BOTH SEXES						
TOTAL (=100%)	46,811	38,799	8,012	29,108	25,753	3,355
Home Duties	73.4	71.2	84.2	87.8	87.7	88.5
Attended School	17.7	19.6	8.1	1.1	1.1	1.0
Retired	4.6	4.6	4.9	4.7	4.6	5.6
Disabled	4.3	4.6	2.8	6.4	6.6	4.9
MALE						
TOTAL	18.7	19.9	13.0	7.9	7.8	8.0
Home Duties	3.9	4.1	3.4	0.6	0.6	0.3
Attended School	8.6	9.6	4.1	0.6	0.6	0.5
Retired	3.6	3.5	3.7	3.1	3.0	4.2
Disabled	2.5	2.7	1.9	3.5	3.6	3.0
FEMALE						
TOTAL	81.3	80.1	87.0	92.1	92.2	92.0
Home Duties	69.5	67.1	80.8	87.2	87.1	88.2
Attended School	9.0	10.0	4.1	0.5	0.5	0.5
Retired	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.6	1.6	1.4
Disabled	1.8	1.9	0.9	2.8	3.0	1.9

Table 3.22: Heads of Households by Marital Status, Birthplace and Gender; 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Marital Status	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
COUNTRY TOTAL						
TOTAL (=100%)	37,944	29,617	8,327	27,544	21,388	6,156
Married	54.3	63.1	22.9	56.5	64.8	27.6
Widowed	6.4	2.3	21.1	6.3	2.3	20.1
Divorced	1.7	1.2	3.3	0.7	0.6	1.2
Legally Separated	2.0	1.3	4.4	0.8	0.5	1.7
Never Married	35.6	32.0	48.3	34.6	30.6	48.4
Not Stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.1	1.1
BELIZE BORN						
TOTAL	78.8	76.6	86.6	85.2	83.4	91.5
Married	42.4	48.8	19.6	47.5	53.9	25.2
Widowed	5.5	1.9	18.2	5.6	2.1	18.0
Divorced	1.2	0.9	2.5	0.6	0.4	0.9
Legally Separated	1.7	1.1	3.8	0.7	0.5	1.6
Never Married	27.9	23.9	42.4	30.0	25.8	44.8
Not Stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.8	0.9
FOREIGN BORN						
TOTAL	21.2	23.4	13.4	14.8	16.6	8.5
Married	11.9	14.3	3.3	9.0	10.9	2.4
Widowed	0.9	0.4	2.8	0.6	0.2	2.0
Divorced	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.2
Legally Separated	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.1
Never Married	7.6	8.1	5.9	4.6	4.9	3.6
Not Stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.2

Table 3.23: Number of Households by Size, 1991 and 1980

	1991		1980	
	NUMBER	Percent	NUMBER	Percent
TOTAL	37,944	100.0	27,298	100.0
1	4,157	11.0	3,807	13.9
2	4,517	11.9	3,125	11.4
3	4,847	12.8	3,110	11.4
4	5,229	13.8	3,335	12.2
5	5,215	13.7	2,955	10.8
6	4,189	11.0	2,631	9.6
7	3,231	8.5	2,281	8.4
8	2,271	6.0	1,810	6.6
9 & over	4,288	11.3	4,244	15.5

CHAPTER 4

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS, FERTILITY AND INFANT MORTALITY

Introduction

Topics discussed in the following chapter include living arrangements, fertility levels and infant mortality levels of the population. Living arrangements are apt to reflect the quality of life of a particular household and this is often the case in Belize. If the household is overcrowded, the health and education of the children living there could be at risk. On the other hand, the more wage earners there are in a household, the wealthier the household may be. Analyses of fertility and infant mortality are useful for similar reasons. Studies show that societies with high fertility levels tend to be poorer. Similarly, high levels of infant mortality imply lower life expectancies which in turn are a function of prevailing social deprivations.

Living Arrangements

The living arrangements among households are examined by a thorough consideration of various socioeconomic characteristics of the heads of households, and relationship to the head, of persons living within the household..

There were 37,943 households enumerated in the 1991 Census. This represents an increase of 36% over the total enumerated in the 1980 census. The definition of a household was standard over time and across the entire English speaking Caribbean countries which took part in the joint effort. The definition states that a " household comprises persons living under the same roof for most nights of the week, and sharing at least one daily meal together". This definition implies that one person may constitute a household as may two or more persons who are unrelated.

Tables 4.1 (1980) and 4.2 (1990) present data on the number and size of households by age and sex of head. The same data by district is also presented. In both censuses, the majority of households were headed by persons between the ages of 35-54. The maturity and experience of persons this age and their child rearing techniques can be beneficial for younger members of the household. The data also show that for both years there were more male than female heads. Despite this, there is a high percent of households headed by females. In 1980, 30% of households were headed by females but by 1991 it had dropped to 22%. For both years the data show that the majority of households are comprised of four or more persons.

The incidence of female headed households may be of some concern to our social planners, particularly at the district level (percent not shown). In 1980, and again in 1991, 36% the total households in Belize City were headed by females. In Dangriga, 42% of the households were headed by females, and this figure declined to 39% in 1991. These two areas of the country are presented as examples since they are the highest emigrant areas. Many parents leave these districts to search for employment in the United States. They leave behind dependents whose care and guardianship are often left to others. This situation is not conducive to the proper nurturing of youths and there is evidence to suggest that this disruption of the family is a principal cause of the recent incidence of gang violence.

Table 4.3 presents data by household size, the relationship to head of household and for persons living within households in 1991 and 1980. For this analysis the relationship categories are **Head, Spouse/Partner, Child, Other Relative** and **Non-Relative.**

The data presented here for the tabulable[1] population of Belize are according to the censuses of 1991 and 1980. As mentioned before, the majority of households in 1991 were headed by persons age 35-54. This Table shows that a total of 83,262 persons , or 45% of the country's population lived in these households, 82% of which were headed by males and 18% by females. As one would expect, 58% of these persons are children of heads. The heads themselves represent 17%, Spouses/Partners another 12%, Other Relative 11% and Non-Relative 2%. The composition of the Belizean household therefore remains 'extended' with 13% of its members not being a child or spouse of the head. If the Urban and Rural breakdown is examined, some interesting patterns can be seen. The urban structure is very similar to the country as a whole. The only substantive deviations occur with respect to the children and other relative. In the urban areas, 'Children' comprise 5 percentage points less than in the urban area. This was traded off with the 'Other Relative' category. The larger 'Other Relative' category in the urban over the rural area reflects the trend of other relatives to be accommodated by the urban dwellers for work or education purposes. In 1980, the composition of households was parallel to the urban composition of 1991 in the sense that children accounted for almost half the number of persons living in the households.Heads accounted for 19%, Other Relatives for 15%, Spouse/Partner for 12% and Non-Relatives for 6%. It should be noted however, that there were more non-relatives of heads living together with other members in 1980 (6%) than in 1991 (2%). This may be a slight indication of a move of Belizean households toward a more 'nuclear' structure. Table 4.4 provides the comparative percent of household composition in 1991 and 1980. Analysis of the marital status of the heads of households by their age and sex may also be of significance to the living arrangements. Table 4.5 presents statistics for 1991 on the number of households by the marital status, age and sex of the head. The majority of households in this case are headed by persons 20-34 who have never been married. Further, of the total number of households, 2% are headed by persons who are either divorced or separated. However, more than half of the latter household heads are females. Given the fact that females in Belize are a particularly vulnerable group, this finding may be of some concern. The situation in 1980 was somewhat different, reflecting a pattern whereby the majority of households are headed by persons age 35-54, but there were more married than unmarried heads. This finding may be indicative of the fact that the 'common law' form of unions may have become more popular among couples in Belize during the two decades.

The United Nations'standard[2] for over-crowdedness and unhealthy living arrangements includes situations where there are three or more persons sharing one room. Table 4.6 for the country as a whole shows that approximately 6% of households comprise three or more persons living together per room. In fact, the total number of households with one person to one or more rooms is

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[1]Data relate to respondents with reasonably complete profiles.

[2]U.N, 1967 Methods of Estimating Housing needs series F No. 12, United Nations publication, sales No. 67SVII. 15, p.4.

4,157 or 11% of all households. In addition, there were no households living together without any rooms, as enumerated by the census of 1991. These two latter findings indicate that there was a generous supply of rooms per household in Belize in 1991, therefore there was no problem of overcrowding. This situation represents a reversal of the trend in 1980, when overcrowding appeared to be a problem. A more in-depth look at this potential problem is done in Chapter 8 of this report.

Fertility

Earlier censuses have shown that Belize has one of the highest levels of fertility and infant mortality among the Commonwealth Caribbean countries. In the case of fertility, census data show the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) dropped from 5.8 children per woman in 1980 to 4.7 in 1991. This figure is high compared with the Caribbean region. Belize's fertility rate compares with those prevailing in Central America. This is not surprising, however, since Belize's largest ethnic group is the Mestizos, and this group has the highest fertility of all ethnic groups in Belize. Mestizos are the major ethnic group in all the other Central American states. Despite this, the TFR for Belize is on a downward trend and is projected (see Chapter 11) to reach replacement in the early part of the 21st Century.

Based on the 1991 census, there are also clear urban/rural differences (Table 4.7). Whereas the urban TFR is four children per woman, its rural counterpart is as high as six children per woman. There are also clear geographic differences. For example, the TFR for the Belize district is 3.4 children per woman, in Toledo this figure stands at 7.7. Corozal district had the second lowest TFR (4.5) followed by Orange Walk (5.1) and Stann Creek (5.1). The Cayo district has the second highest (5.2) reflecting the large immigrant in flow in this district since the 1980's.

Table 4.8 presents an array of TFR's calculated from data generated in the 1991 census. From this Table, it is clear that there are significant ethnic differences in fertility. The Maya Ketchi and Mopan stand out with TFR's of 8.7 and 8.0, respectively. It is not surprising that the 'Other Maya' group, which comprises mainly the Yucateca Mayas, has relatively low fertility (4.9) since this sub-group reside more in the semi-urban areas of the Cayo district. The Maya Mopan and Maya Ketchi groups reside mainly in the rural hinterland and the village of Succotz, in Cayo. This village, however, is relatively "modern" having easy access to potable water, twenty-four hour electricity, and health facilities. Most dwelling units in this village are made of modern building materials like zinc for the roofing, wood or concrete for flooring and outer walls. Various studies of fertility in developing countries has shown a consistently high correlation between low levels of fertility and the possession of these household amenities.

On the other hand, the Mennonite sub-group displays rather high fertility, but this pattern is not surprising. This ethnic group is quite traditional, and concentrated in rural areas. There are some indications however, that fertility regulation is being practiced among younger couples, particularly among the Mennonites residing in the Cayo district. The data here are very scanty and should be used with caution.

According to the 1991 Census, the largest ethnic group in Belize is the Mestizos. The data in Table 4.8 show that their TFR is 4.8. which is relatively low compared with the TFR of ten years ago. This group seems to be 'catching up' with the Creoles who have traditionally had the lowest fertility and are here shown to have a TFR of 3.7. The data presented also show that the Garifuna had a TFR of approximately 4 children per woman in 1991.

One of the uses of this analysis by ethnic group is that it can assist planners who may be promoting contraceptive use to intervene appropriately. For example, it is clear from the above that there is a close association between the TFR and traditional beliefs. When promoting the use of contraceptives, therefore, one must be sensitive to this association. It may mean that the customs need to be analysed very carefully to determine some aspects which can act as a vehicle for contraceptive acceptance and use. This is particularly important when the specific group shows strong resistance to a change of its customs.

Infant Mortality

One of the key indicators of development in a country is the prevailing level of infant mortality. This is because infants have the highest probability of dying, and if these deaths can be prevented, then life expectancy for the entire population is enhanced. Longer life expectancy is closely correlated with higher levels of development. Hence, with very few exceptions, the more developed a country, the higher its life expectancy. In Belize, the measurement of infant mortality was almost exclusively dependent on the Vital Registration System until the 1991 Census. There is no doubt that this system is riddled with deficiencies, particularly the non-recording or late recording of births and infant deaths. As a consequence, using this source to measure the Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), yielded very misleading results. Through this source, the rate appeared to be getting lower and lower, reaching a level of nineteen (19) per thousand by 1985. On several occasions, the Central Statistical Office pointed out the weakness in this measure to the government, and in particular to the Ministry of Health.

In 1987, using the standard Brass techniques to estimate the IMR indirectly from data generated in a Demographic Survey of Belize, an IMR of around 32 per thousand live births was produced. In 1990, a countrywide Family Health Survey was conducted in Belize and confirmed an IMR above 30 per thousand. When the 1991 Census was being planned, Belize insisted that this indirect question be included. Analyses of the data generated are presented in Tables 4.9 to 4.14, below.

The first Table shows that the level of IMR in 1990 was not the 19 per thousand live births as the Vital Register had misleadingly revealed. Even though for technical reasons[3] the level of 43 per thousand for the country as a whole is not very accurate, the trend as shown strongly confirm that the true IMR is above 30 per thousand. This Table shows very large Urban/Rural differences, with the urban areas, as expected, having much lower IMR's than the rural areas, eg., 29 compared with 49, respectively in 1987.

Table 4.10, comparing natives with the foreign born population show that foreign born have much higher IMR's than the natives. An interesting finding occurs when the Central American foreign born population is analyzed separately from the others, for instance, from the U.S. and U.K. foreign born. Even though the results of this analysis are not shown, the IMR of the U.S. and U.K.

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[3]Births to the younger women, who have not yet completed childbearing are used to estimate IMR by this indirect method. See U.N. Manual X "Indirect Techniques".

foreign born population are much lower than both the native population and the Central American. The Central Americans have the highest of the three groups.

Table 4.11 compares ethnic differences in infant mortality. Leaving out the more recent estimates which tend to be less accurate using this method, comparisons show that the Mayas do not fare well compared with the other ethnic groups. The IMR for Mayas was 55 per thousand in 1985 compared with 34 for Garinagu, 32 for Mestizos and 27 for Creoles. This situation mirrors that described earlier for fertility. The ethnic groups with higher fertility also have higher levels of infant mortality. This pattern follows that supported by various research findings which show the interrelationship between fertility and infant mortality. In fact all other variables considered here are showing the same high positive correlation between high fertility and high infant mortality.

Knowledge about prevailing levels of fertility and infant mortality is crucial to population planning. These statistics are essential inputs into the formulation of an overall comprehensive population policy. For example, when these are combined with an analysis of migration trends, the size, growth and structure of the population can be reliably estimated and long term projections made. The usefulness of a comprehensive population policy, and the need for this to be incorporated into development planning cannot be overemphasized. The fact that people are the subject and object of any development plan is sufficient to justify the need for the integration of population planning into development planning.

Conclusion

This chapter looked at living arrangements within households, fertility and infant mortality. Where possible, comparisons were made with the 1980 Census. In 1991, the total number of households in Belize was 38,000. Twenty-two percent of households were headed by females. This statistic does seem to indicate potential problems particularly with childrearing. Overcrowding does not appear to be a very serious problem as there is a generous supply of rooms for persons living within households. Levels of fertility and infant mortality have been high which is indicative of an unhealthy situation. Nevertheless, recently these levels have been dropping and life expectancy has been increasing. There has been considerable improvement since the 1980 census, but more change is necessary. This is particularly crucial in rural areas, and in the two southern most districts of Stann Creek and Toledo. Resources have to be shifted toward the rural areas where the population is growing fastest.

Table 4.1: Number and Size of Households by Age and Sex of Head, 1991

SIZE	AGE OF HEAD												
	COUNTRY												
	15-19			20-34			35-54			55+			G.T
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
1	96	20	116	997	209	1206	849	171	1020	1108	707	1815	4157
2	103	39	142	1260	341	1601	719	280	999	1183	592	1775	4517
3	77	34	111	1940	431	2379	763	367	1130	829	397	1226	4846
4+	89	42	131	7207	1422	8629	8964	1939	10903	3424	1336	4760	24423
T	365	135	500	11404	2403	13815	11295	2757	14052	6544	3032	9576	37943
	URBAN												
1	47	17	64	572	170	742	442	121	563	604	517	1121	2490
2	40	25	65	597	265	862	363	212	575	627	420	1047	2549
3	29	28	57	908	344	1252	410	280	690	415	297	712	2711
4+	45	28	73	2852	1010	3862	3781	1365	5146	1531	958	2489	11570
T	165	98	259	4929	1789	6718	4996	1978	6974	3177	2192	5369	19320
	RURAL												
1	49	3	52	425	39	464	407	50	457	504	190	694	1667
2	63	14	77	663	76	739	356	68	424	556	172	728	1968
3	48	6	54	1040	87	1127	353	87	440	414	100	514	2135
4+	44	14	58	4355	412	4767	5183	574	5757	1893	378	2271	12853
T	204	37	241	6483	614	7097	6298	779	7078	3367	840	4207	18623
	COROZAL												
1	12	-	12	104	13	117	108	13	121	116	57	173	423
2	9	1	10	185	20	205	69	26	95	162	74	236	546
3	8	-	8	326	15	341	134	27	161	123	35	158	668
4+	13	1	14	1224	91	1315	1576	189	1765	566	134	700	3794
T	42	2	44	1839	139	1978	1887	255	2142	967	300	1267	5431

SIZE	AGE OF HEAD												
	O. WALK												
	15-19			20-34			35-54			55+			G.T
1	8	1	9	104	9	113	115	9	124	124	49	173	419
2	13	1	14	193	21	214	99	23	122	137	36	173	523
3	12	-	12	301	33	334	112	31	143	107	30	137	626
4+	11	4	15	1350	108	1458	1737	186	1923	608	110	710	4114
T	44	6	50	1948	171	2119	2063	249	2312	976	225	1201	5682
	BELIZE												
1	43	13	56	432	119	551	320	94	414	460	349	809	1830
2	29	21	50	413	209	622	275	144	419	421	290	711	1802
3	23	20	43	577	248	825	276	194	470	279	192	471	1809
4+	25	17	42	1748	751	2499	2121	923	3044	896	601	1497	7082
T	120	71	191	3170	1327	4497	2992	1355	4347	2056	1432	3488	12523
	CAYO												
1	8	6	14	133	43	176	122	27	149	156	81	237	576
2	18	9	27	210	55	265	122	48	170	194	91	285	747
3	13	11	24	387	80	467	129	60	189	148	59	207	887
4+	15	11	26	1390	262	1652	1924	360	2284	726	218	944	4906
T	54	37	91	2120	440	2560	2297	495	2792	1224	449	1673	7116
	S. CREEK												
1	8	-	8	144	17	161	122	19	141	176	107	283	593
2	16	4	20	174	26	200	99	20	119	136	63	199	538
3	6	-	6	174	39	213	72	34	106	96	54	150	475
4+	13	5	18	616	122	738	744	180	924	340	198	538	2218
T	43	9	52	1108	204	1312	1037	253	1290	748	422	1170	3824
	TOLEDO												
1	17	-	17	80	8	88	62	9	71	76	64	140	316
2	18	3	21	85	10	95	55	19	74	133	38	171	361
3	15	3	18	183	16	199	40	21	61	76	27	103	381
4+	12	4	16	879	88	967	862	101	963	288	75	363	2309
T	62	10	72	1227	122	1349	1019	150	1169	573	204	777	3367

Table 4.2: Number and Size of Households by Age and Sex of Head, 1980

	AGE OF HEAD												
SIZE	15-19			20-34			35-54			55+			G.T
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
1	115	27	142	866	182	1048	883	197	1080	936	541	1477	3747
2	86	27	113	812	194	1006	529	179	708	819	450	1269	3096
3	68	18	86	1114	189	1303	541	216	757	603	334	937	3083
4+	87	49	136	4685	909	5594	6431	1562	7993	2623	1009	3632	17355
T	356	121	477	7477	1474	8951	8384	2154	10538	4981	2334	7315	27281

Table 4.3: Size of Household by Age & Sex of Head and by Relationship to Head, by Country, 1991

SIZE	AGE OF HEAD											
	15-19			20-34			35-54			55+		
1	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
HEAD	96	20	116	997	209	1206	849	171	1020	1108	707	1815
SPOUSE	-			-			-			-		
CHILD	-			-			-			-		
RELATIVE	-			-			-			-		
NON-RELATIVE	-			-			-			-		
2												
HEAD	103	39	142	1260	341	1601	719	280	999	1183	592	1775
SPOUSE	51	9	60	963	53	1016	506	35	541	946	52	998
CHILD	-	15	15	9	189	198	65	166	231	109	225	334
RELATIVE	31	8	39	146	62	208	69	53	122	74	265	339
NON-RELATIVE	21	7	28	142	37	179	79	26	105	54	50	104
3												
HEAD	77	34	111	1948	431	2379	763	367	1130	829	397	1226
SPOUSE	53	13	66	1785	77	1862	630	39	669	709	34	743
CHILD	44	24	68	1667	603	2270	627	542	1169	518	284	802
RELATIVE	33	22	55	263	138	401	150	114	264	364	439	803
NON-RELATIVE	24	9	33	181	44	225	119	39	158	67	37	104
4+												
HEAD	89	42	131	7207	1422	8629	8964	1939	10903	3424	1336	4760
SPOUSE	46	10	56	6972	442	7414	367	9067	3129	3129	127	3256
CHILD	72	44	116	21999	4747	26746	39841	7660	47501	9852	2326	12178
RELATIVE	145	85	230	3041	1493	4534	5086	2930	8016	6478	4515	10993
NON-RELATIVE	148	19	167	1136	260	1396	1086	281	1367	454	324	778

Table 4.4: Structure of Households 1991 & 1980 (Percent)

	1991 (PERCENT)			1980
RELATION	TOTAL	URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL
HEAD	17	18	15	19
SPOUSE	12	11	12	12
CHILD	58	53	63	48
OTHER RELATIVE	11	16	8	15
NON- RELATIVE	2	2	2	6
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 4.5: Size of Households by Age & Sex of Head and by Marital Status of Head, by Country, 1991

SIZE	AGE											
	15-19			20-34			35-54			55+		
1	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
MARRIED	1	-	1	80	16	96	196	28	224	288	89	377
WIDOWED	-	-	-	4	4	8	12	16	28	225	359	584
DIVORCED/ SEPARATED	-	-	-	26	15	41	96	24	120	120	52	172
NEVER MARRIED	95	20	115	887	174	1061	545	103	648	475	207	682
TOTAL.	96	20	116	997	209	1206	849	171	1020	1109	707	1815
2												
MARRIED	20	3	23	577	47	624	374	60	434	851	112	963
WIDOWED	-	-	-	-	3	3	14	30	44	83	261	344
DIVORCED/ SEPARATED	-	1	1	19	14	33	43	41	84	42	39	81
NEVER MARRIED	83	35	118	664	277	941	288	149	437	207	180	387
TOTAL.	103	39	142	1260	341	1598	719	280	999	1183	592	1775
3												

SIZE	AGE			
MARRIED	15 9 24	1083 91 1174	489 90 579	630 76 706
WIDOWED	- - -	2 9 11	17 45 62	56 165 221
DIVORCED/ SEPARATED	- - -	16 24 40	47 61 108	31 30 61
NEVER MARRIED	62 25 87	847 307 1154	210 171 381	112 126 238
TOTAL.	77 34 111	1948 431 2379	763 367 1130	829 397 1226
4+				
MARRIED	14 6 20	4471 366 4837	6955 631 7586	2654 287 2941
WIDOWED	- - -	6 39 45	80 273 353	182 550 732
DIVORCED/ SEPARATED	- - -	49 76 125	188 189 377	80 75 155
NEVER MARRIED	75 36 111	2681 941 3622	1741 846 2587	508 424 932
TOTAL.	89 42 131	7207 1422 8629	8964 1939 10903	3424 1336 4760
	BELIZE 1980			
	15-19	20-34	35-54	55+
MARRIED	17 11 87	4458 368 4826	5912 784 6696	3396 531 3927
WIDOWED	- - -	14 27 41	104 270 374	374 931 1305
DIVORCED/ SEPARATED	- 1 1	15 13 28	107 96 203	95 53 148
NEVER MARRIED	276 107 383	2886 1032 3918	2180 981 3161	1064 801 1865
TOTAL.	352 118 470	7373 1440 8813	8303 2131 10434	4929 2316 7245

Table 4.6: Number of Persons Per Room by Age & Sex of the Household Head, Belize, 1991.

Size*	Age			
1	15-19	20-34	35-54	55+
	M F T	M F T	M F T	M F T
1 rms	30 9 39	303 38 341	216 18 234	239 84 323
2"	42 8 50	402 92 494	341 62 403	506 259 765
3"	14 2 16	200 56 256	184 47 231	221 217 438
4+"	10 1 11	92 23 115	108 44 152	14 147 289
Total	96 20 116	997 209 1206	849 171 1020	1108 707 1815
2				
1 rm	33 5 8	261 44 305	111 21 132	107 32 139
2 "	49 12 61	526 125 651	252 77 329	376 148 524
3"	13 14 27	330 107 437	195 103 298	323 226 549
4+	8 8 16	143 65 208	161 79 240	377 186 563
Total	103 39 142	1260 341 1601	719 280 999	1183 592 8775
3				
1 rm	13 5 18	206 51 337	61 21 82	42 14 56
2 "	37 8 45	828 141 969	195 80 275	183 68 251
3"	17 14 31	546 148 694	256 124 380	262 157 419
4+	10 7 17	2888 91 379	251 142 393	342 158 500
Total	77 34 111	1948 431 2379	763 367 1130	829 397 1226
4+				
1 rm	13 6 19	750 54 834	494 71 565	169 35 204
2 "	30 10 40	2594 386 2980	1823 329 2152	517 173 690
3 "	23 10 33	2469 574 3043	2816 696 3512	923 449 1372
4+	23 16 39	1390 378 1768	3830 843 4673	1815 679 2494
Total	89 42 131	7207 1422 8629	8964 1939 10903	3424 1336 4760

Table 4.7: Total Fertility Rate by District and by Urban/Rural

COUNTRY	TFR = 4.7		
AGE OF WOMEN	No. of Women	Births	ASFR*
15-19	10,258	1,027	.1001
20-24	8,534	1,962	.2299
25-29	7,332	1,679	.2290
30-34	5,783	1,031	.1783
35-39	4,363	534	.1224
40-44	3,314	225	.0679
45-49	2,351	18	.0077
URBAN	TFR = 3.7		
15-19	5,139	415	.0808
20-24	4,430	860	.1941
25-29	3,808	710	.1864
30-34	2,967	408	.1375
35-39	2,252	193	.0857
40-44	1,774	77	.0434
45-49	1,221	8	.0066
RURAL	TFR = 5.6		
15-19	5,119	612	.1196
20-24	4,104	1,102	.2685
25-29	3,524	969	.2750
30-34	2,816	623	.2212
35-39	2,111	341	.1615
40-44	1,540	148	.0961
45-49	1,130	10	.0088

COROZAL	TFR = 4.5		
AGE OF WOMEN	No. Of Women	No. Of Births	ASFR
15-19	1,629	133	.0816
20-24	1,311	297	.2265
25-29	1,123	253	.2253
30-34	864	154	.1782
35-39	658	81	.1231
40-44	500	24	.0480
45-49	348	3	.0086
O/WALK	TFR = 5.1		
15-19	1,664	157	.0944
20-24	1,405	351	.2498
25-29	1,126	308	.2735
30-34	918	177	.1928
35-39	653	83	.1271
40-44	570	41	.0719
45-49	407	3	.0074
BELIZE	TFR = 3.4		
15-19	3,046	277	.0909
20-24	2,783	506	.1818
25-29	2,547	446	.1751
30-34	1,865	231	.1239
35-39	1,431	111	.0776
40-44	1,057	35	.0331
45-49	744	4	.0054
CAYO	TFR = 5.2		
15-19	2,219	222	.1000
20-24	1,633	400	.2449
25-29	1,355	324	.2391
30-34	1,179	249	.2112
35-39	843	110	.1305

CAYO	TFR = 5.2		
40-44	652	62	.0951
45-49	493	5	.0101
S/CREEK	**TFR= 5.1**		
15-19	851	99	.1163
20-24	679	174	.2563
25-29	625	153	.2448
30-34	505	82	.1624
35-39	374	50	.1337
40-44	280	29	.1036
45-49	213	1	.0047
TOLEDO	**TFR = 7.7**		
15-19	849	139	.1637
20-24	723	234	.3237
25-29	556	195	.3507
30-34	452	138	.3053
35-39	404	99	.2450
40-44	255	34	.1333
45-49	146	2	.0137

Table 4.8: Total Fertility Rate by Ethnic Group

ETHNIC GROUP	No. Of Women	No. Of Births	ASFR
MESTIZO	**TFR =4.8**		
15-19	4,648	461	.0992
20-24	3,882	951	.2450
25-29	3,273	770	.2353
30-34	2,592	475	.1833
35-39	1,927	237	.1230
40-44	1,444	104	.0720
45-49	1,056	8	.0076
CREOLE	**TFR = 3.7**		
15-19	3,075	296	.0963
20-24	2,477	461	.1861
25-29	2,285	421	.1842
30-34	1,730	242	.1399
35-39	1,226	113	.0922
40-44	929	41	.0441
45-49	662	4	.0060
GARIFUNA	**TFR = 4.0**		
15-19	673	58	.0862
20-24	574	108	.1882
25-29	499	109	.2184
30-34	377	61	.1618
35-39	289	28	.0969
40-44	214	5	.0234
45-49	170	3	.0176
MAYA-MOPAN	**TFR = 8.0**		
15-19	356	57	.1601
25-29	188	68	.3617
20-24	**294**	**99**	**3367**

30-34	213	60	.2877
35-39	158	44	.2785
40-44	125	21	.1680
45-49	62	1	.0160
MAYA-KETCHI	TFR = 8.7		
15-19	402	84	.2090
20-24	320	114	.3563
25-29	251	97	.3865
30-34	205	64	.3122
35-39	170	49	.2882
40-44	125	20	.1600
45-49	58	1	.017
OTHER MAYA	TFR = 4.9		
15-19	311	28	.0900
20-24	250	54	.2160
25-29	189	48	.2540
30-34	159	27	.1698
35-39	133	18	.1353
40-44	109	12	.1101
45-49	86	0	0
EAST INDIAN	TFR = 4.2		
15-19	369	0	.0921
20-24	314	79	.2516
25-29	319	74	.2320
30-34	194	23	.1186
35-39	181	18	.0994
40-44	122	6	.0492
45-49	82	0	0
MENNONITE	TFR = 7.2		
15-19	288	5	.0174
20-24	265	77	.2906

25-29	165	67	.4061
30-34	153	57	.3725
35-39	110	21	.1909
40-44	86	12	.1395
45-49	76	1	.0132
CHINESE	TFR = 1.8		
15-19	20	20	.0500
20-24	25	25	.0400
25-29	33	33	.0909
30-34	28	28	.1786
35-39	38	38	0
40-44	32	32	0
45-49	8	8	0
WHITE	TFR = 2.3		
15-19	33	0	0
20-24	48	2	.0417
25-29	55	10	.1818
30-34	48	7	.1458
35-39	70	5	.0714
40-44	69	1	.0145
45-49	54	0	0
OTHER	TFR = 2.9		
15-19	76	3	.0395
20-24	79	16	.2025
25-29	69	11	.1594
30-34	78	8	.1026
35-39	58	1	.0172
40-44	51	3	.0588
45-49	30	0	0

Table 4.9: IMR at the National and Urban/Rural Levels

COUNTRY		URBAN		RURAL	
IMR	Date	IMR	Date	IMR	Date
67	1977	59	1977	72	1977
62	1980	50	1980	71	1980
54	1982	43	1982	62	1982
49	1985	37	1985	57	1985
41	1987	29	1987	49	1987
35	1989	27	1989	40	1989
43	1990	28	1990	51	1990

Table 4.10: IMR for the Local and Foreign Born Populations

BELIZEANS		FOREIGN BORN	
IMR	Date	IMR	Date
64	1977	77	1976
59	1980	73	1979
53	1983	59	1982
47	1985	55	1984
39	1987	48	1987
34	1989	37	1989
40	1990	50	1990

Table 4.11: IMR by Major the Ethnic Groups

MESTIZO		CREOLE		GARIFUNA		MAYA	
IMR	Date	IMR	Date	IMR	Date	IMR	Date
71	1977	51	1977	68	1977	91	1977
65	1980	49	1980	75	1980	76	1980
56	1982	42	1982	51	1983	77	1983
51	1985	37	1985	52	1985	70	1985
42	1987	30	1987	44	1987	63	1987
32	1989	27	1989	34	1989	55	1989
53	1990	35	1990	14	1990	48	1990

Table 4.12: IMR by Religious Denominations

ROMAN CATHOLIC		ANGLICAN		PENTECOSTAL		NO RELIGION	
IMR	Date	IMR	Date	IMR	Date	IMR	Date
67	1977	50	1975	83	1976	68	1977
61	1980	48	1978	84	1979	74	1980
55	1982	39	1981	66	1982	63	1983
50	1985	31	1984	63	1984	48	1985
43	1987	24	1987	44	1987	52	1987
36	1989	14	1989	40	1989	22	1988
39	1990	33	1990	36	1990	26	1990

Table 4.13: IMR by Level of Education

PRIMARY		SECONDARY		SIXTH FORM		NO EDUCATION	
IMR	Date	IMR	Date	IMR	Date	IMR	Date
64	1976	25	1977	31	1981	103	1977
62	1979	39	1980	41	1984	84	1980
54	1982	38	1983	31	1986	74	1982
52	1984	27	1985	10	1987	67	1985
43	1987	23	1987	10	1988	56	1987
36	1989	22	1989	7	1989	48	1988
48	1990	20	1991	-		31	1990

Table 4.14: IMR by Marital Status

MARRIED		DIVORCED/WIDOWED		NEVER MARRIED	
IMR	Date	IMR	Date	IMR	Date
70	1979	59	1973	69	1977
63	1982	65	1975	66	1980
57	1983	52	1979	54	1983
52	1984	51	1982	47	1985
41	1986	26	1985	40	1987
28	1987	37	1988	35	1989
7	1989	125	1990	39	1990

CHAPTER 5

MIGRATION AND POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION

Introduction

The growth and changes in the composition of population are affected by three demographic variables, births, deaths and migration. The first two variables are dealt with in detail in other chapters of this report. The present chapter will seek to analyze the third; that is, the movements of individuals within the country.

In recent times international migration has been an issue of much discussion in Belize. This type of migration deals with the movement of individuals across international borders. In Belize's case, the emigration of educated Belizeans (primarily to the U.S.A.) has been characterized as a "brain drain" while a substantial amount of blame for the condition of our health and education systems is laid on the immigration of individuals, primarily those originating from Central America.

The attention given to international migration is due to the economic, social, and political changes it can cause in both the countries of origin and destination. It can even create imbalances great enough to create tension between the native and foreign born in the host country. To avoid such problems, the receiving country must have policies and programmes in place to absorb immigrants and ensure equity and continued development for all. The country of emigration must be able to cope with the loss of human resources.

Internal migration can have the same effects at the regional level within a country. Rural to urban movement can lead to uncontrolled urbanization and contribute to the growth of poverty, unemployment, and unmet educational and other social needs. On the other hand, the outflow of migrants from rural areas could lead to further degradation of technology and social services available there. But migration is not necessarily from rural to urban areas. If out-migration is a manifestation of development problems in a particular region then it follows that within a country any region with this characteristic could be a sending region and any region with relatively better characteristics could be a region of attraction.

At the national level Belize has four main ethnic groups which are well defined in their origins and culture: the Creoles (descendants of the Africans slaves mixed with Europeans), the Mestizos (descendants of the Spanish mixed with the native Americans), the Garifuna (descendants of the Africans mixed with native Caribs) and the Maya (native Indians). In terms of proportional distribution countrywide, in 1991 the Mestizos made up 44.%, the Creoles 30%, the Maya 11% and the Garifuna 7%. The situation with the two larger ethnic groups was reversed during the intercensal period, in 1980 the Creoles made up 39.7%, and the Mestizos 33.1%. The Maya and Garifuna remained relatively stable. It is believed that in each ethnic group the role of women may vary as well as the importance given to formal education. In the past, each ethnic group, with its attendant characteristics, has shown a marked tendency to settle in particular regions of the country. This tendency, however, is becoming less pronounced.

Although physically located in Central America the official language of Belize is English. In addition to English, each ethnic group speaks its own language. The Creoles speak Creole, the Mestizos speak Spanish, the Garifuna speak Garifuna and the Maya speak the language of whatever

Maya group they belong to. Belize's social structures, such as the educational and political systems, are patterned after Great Britain's.

Belize is divided into six districts. There is a tendency to associate specific characteristics with certain districts in terms of ethnicity, level of education, employment opportunities, etc. It is well known that migrants take their characteristics with them at the time of migration. If the receiving area has the mechanisms in place to absorb in-migrants, then eventually they will be assimilated into the host community. However, if these mechanisms are lacking the impact can be great on the receiving region due to differences in cultural and social development. If a substantial amount of internal movement takes place in Belize then, depending on the characteristics of the out-migrant and in-migrant of a particular region, gradual changes could transpire. For that reason, a study of internal migration is necessary to describe the characteristics of the out-migrants and in-migrants of each region, and seek to explain the reasons for the movements.

Population Distribution

Between 1980 and 1991, Belize experienced a population growth rate of approximately 2.6% yearly. This caused the population to increase from 145,353 to 189,392 (see Table 5.1). In addition, as mentioned earlier, the urban-rural distribution of the population completely reversed. The rural population is currently 52.5% of the population as opposed to 47.5% in 1980. During this period Belize also experienced an influx of an estimated 18,793 foreigners. Initially, this number might not seem very large, but when it is examined in the context of the 1980 population of Belize, it is a sizeable number (12.9%). The majority of foreigners came from the Central American countries of Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, but a sizeable number also came from the U.S.A.

The intercensal growth of 23.3% did not occur evenly across urban and rural areas. While the urban areas as a whole increased by 15.3%, the rural areas increased by 30.5%. In 1980 population density was 16.4 persons per square mile, increasing 21.4 in 1991. The district with the highest density in 1980 was the Corozal (31.9 persons per square mile) and the lowest was Toledo (6.9 persons per square mile). This order remains in 1991.

If one looks closely at Table 5.1 it can be observed that all rural areas, with the exception of the Belize district, increased more than the national average. Rural Cayo district experienced the highest increase (45.1%). Notably in 1980, the Cayo had the second lowest population density although it is the district with the largest land area. This is probably the reason why Cayo rural is attractive to international immigrants, it is easy to move into unoccupied land areas and "squat". By 1991, Cayo was the third most densely populated district although there is a huge difference between the second most densely populated district, Belize and Cayo (43.3 and 18.8 persons per square mile, respectively). Most of the foreign born who came to Belize during the intercensal period reside in Cayo. (Data not shown, Source Nawign, Eveielien, 1991)

Two other districts which experienced large percent increases relative to their size during the 1980 and 1991 censuses are Stann Creek and Toledo. These two districts are home to two industries which have gained importance in Belize, Bananas and Citrus. Since most jobs require manual laborers, and Belizeans are reluctant to fill these types of jobs, it is mostly the foreign-born who do so.

Although Corozal and Orange Walk did not have as high a relative increase as the other districts, in absolute numbers their increases are substantial (5,399 and 5,236 persons). As

mentioned above most recent immigrants to Belize come from Central America and speak mainly Spanish. Up until 1985, when the Sugar Factory closed in Corozal, the main attraction to these two districts would have been the Sugar Cane Industry and the Spanish spoken there.

Of the urban areas, the one with the highest growth was San Pedro Town, located in Belize District. This is mainly a tourist town. Over the intercensal interval, San Pedro Town has undergone a lot of planned expansion in the hope of promoting it as a world class tourist destination. This expansion was accompanied by the creation of jobs associated with tourism and attracted laborers from other parts of Belize.

San Ignacio Town, located in the Cayo and Punta Gorda Town, located in Toledo were the urban centers which experienced the second and third highest percent changes over the intercensal period. Although it is known that a large number of these persons are immigrants, the reason for settling in these two communities is unknown. In absolute terms Belize City was the urban area which experienced the biggest change with an addition of 4,316 persons. This is not surprising since Belize City is the largest urban center in the country, and the center of most commercial and industrial activity. It is able to provide the most jobs in absolute terms and job-seekers from throughout Belize move to Belize City. In addition, until 1986, no tertiary level institution had been established anywhere else in the country. This meant that all individuals seeking Sixth Form or University level education had to do so in Belize City. Some of these persons remain in Belize City after completing their education. After taking these factors into account the figure of 4,316 persons seems a bit low. However, a possible explanation for this is that a vast majority of international emigrants (with destination being the United States of America) are from Belize City.

Corozal Town is the only urban center which experienced a very small population increase in both absolute and relative terms while Dangriga Town was the only area, among both rural and urban, to experience negative growth. Corozal Town has no major industry to provide employment. This meant for many Corozaleños that a move must take place to other parts of the country in order to find a job: manual laborers would more than likely look for work in the sugar Industry in Orange Walk, professionals would seek employment in Belize City, and a mixture of both would move San Pedro to work in the Tourism and Construction sectors. Being able to speak Spanish would facilitate finding employment. In the case of Dangriga, all employment associated with the Citrus and Banana Industries are located in the rural areas. The town itself has few opportunities for employment. There is also a marked reluctance for the local population to take up the manual-type employment opportunities. As a result out-migration from that district to both the U.S.A. and other parts of the country takes place. Other factors such as seeking educational opportunities, mainly among the Garifuna population which resides in the Stann Creek, have led to this out-migration.

At this stage it is important to point out that the population dynamics of Belize are very complex. For simplicity, three categories of migrants are created. The first is comprised of immigrants from mostly Central American countries. These can be split into three sub-groups, those who come here in the hope of starting a new life, those who wish to use Belize as a stepping stone to eventually gain entry. The first group may initially settle in the rural areas of Belize in the hope of remaining undetected until length of residence in Belize is no longer important. These individuals may eventually decide to remain in the rural areas, move to the outskirts of urban settlements or even within the boundaries of the towns and cities. These individuals are mostly Spanish-speaking Mestizos and have a lower level of education than Belizeans with all the attendant problems such

as high fertility. Very little is known of the second group. However, the third group has similar characteristics as the first with the exception that it is usually individuals who migrate and not whole families. These economic migrants are, for the most part, manual workers seeking employment in the banana, citrus, sugarcane and construction industries. Some of the women seek employment as domestic help or as waitresses/cooks in the service industry.

The second major category is made up of Belizean born individuals who emigrate. These individuals were thought to be mainly Creoles and Garifuna from Belize City and Dangriga and better educated than the average Belizean. However, more recently a wide cross-section of Belizeans have been emigrating to the U.S.A.

The third category of migrants consists of those internal migrants who, for reasons related to furthering their education or employment, move to other parts of the country. This category further accentuates the changes in characteristics which the Central American immigrants are initiating. Such changes relate to age and sex distribution, the average level of education, the ethnic distribution, and to employment levels at the district and urban-rural levels of the district. As mentioned earlier much attention has been given in the past to international migration. For that reason the rest of this chapter is dedicated to the study of internal migration of which no prior study exists.

Internal Migrants

This analysis is based on tabulations from the 1991 and 1980 Population and Housing Censuses. Internal migration can be studied in two ways, from the perspective of lifetime movement or from the perspective of movement over a defined period of time. For the former, place of birth and place of current residence is required. For the latter, usual place of residence five years earlier is used as well as the place of current residence. With regard to lifetime movement, although the 1991 Census captured place of birth of persons, the 1980 Census did not. In the case of movement over time, neither Census asked place of residence of persons at a given point in time. However, both the 1980 and 1991 censuses captured the individual's last movement. Therefore, the last movement within the intercensal period is used in the case of the 1991 data and the last movement within the ten-year period preceding the 1980 census is used in the case of the 1980 data. It should be noted that due to the 1980 data this study has been limited first to movements of only the native population, that is, the population born in Belize, and second, to inter-district moves. Neither the internal movements of the foreign-born population nor the urban to rural movements of the native population were captured in the 1980 census. An advantage of this type of data is that respondents are more likely to remember the exact year of their last moves. Also, one would capture the most recent move, although recent might be several years. There would have been less of a chance that characteristics of the respondents would be drastically altered if a lifetime movement is recorded. However, changes are inevitable and this latter advantage can also be classed as a disadvantage since only the present socio-economic characteristics of the respondents are known.

This latter mentioned point is important since existing prevailing characteristics at the time of migration influence movement. Although characteristics can be inferred from non-migrants at the place of origin this is always risky because migration is selective. In addition, sometimes particular areas of the country might be considered intermediate stops. In other words, the migrant has a plan of action. In order to reach their final destination they must make stops at certain places.

has a plan of action. In order to reach their final destination they must make stops at certain places. In this case just studying last movement leaves a false impression.

Two questions which provided the required information from the 1991 Census were, Question 4.6, "In what town or village and district in Belize did ..... he/she last live?" and Question 4.7, "In what year did ..... come to live in this town or village and district? The two questions which provided the necessary information from the 1980 Population and Housing Census were, Question 13, "Number of years lived in this district." and Question 14, "District last lived in."

Additional variables such as current place of residence (at the district level), age, sex, ethnicity, level of education reached, economic activity and occupation are used from both censuses in the analysis.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Migration Matrix

Table 5.2 is displayed to further demonstrate the methodology used. It is a matrix summarizing all last-movements taking place within Belize during the period under consideration, 1980 to 1991. Most of the analysis relies heavily on the information contained in this Table. Row-wise the cells show in-migration and column-wise the cells show out-migration. The highlighted figures across the diagonal refer to the intra-district moves. For example, the number 1,343 means that many persons moved within Corozal. The row total minus the never-moved, the not stated and district figure give the number of in-migrant to a particular district. For example, 25,515 minus 22,172, 1,343, and 434 gives the total number of persons who migrated into the Corozal during the period. The district column totals minus the intra-district migration give the number of out-migrants. For example, the figure 3,152 minus 1,343 gives the number of persons who migrated from Corozal to the other five districts.

As can be seen from the highlighted numbers, the intra-district movement that was captured in 1991 is significant. With regard to the rest of the study, it is necessary to point out that in the 1991 Census 7,941 persons did not report the time of their last movement and/or the place where they last lived. While not all of these persons can be assumed to be migrants, some might well have been. It did not seem appropriate to distribute such a large number of persons, since it might very well be that this group could have some special characteristics.

In the case of the 1980 Census, only 819 persons did not report the time of their last movement and/or district where they last lived. Although not as large a number as in the case of the 1991 Census, these individuals were left out of the study.

Internal Migration 1971-1980

Table 5.3 describes the inter-district migration patterns that were recorded in the 1980 Census. A matrix describing all internal movements could not be drawn up since intra-district movements were not captured and neither was the internal movement of the foreign-born population. When analyzing these figures it is important to deal with both absolute and relative numbers. From an intervention point of view, such as jobs that need to be created, the absolute figures are more helpful. Since in most cases the ability to absorb migrants and not be impacted by

out-migrant is dependent on the size of a population, relative number better show the extent that a district can be impacted.

During the 1970's the Belize district was attracting the most in-migrants in terms of absolute number (3,259 moving in over the previous ten-year period). Almost 40% of those in-migrants came from Stann Creek and 22% came from Cayo. It should be noted that Belize City, located in the Belize district, is the former capital of the country and remains the economic center even though of the government transferred its seat in 1970 to the new capital city, Belmopan. The industrial and service sectors, and even some primary activities such as fishing, are concentrated in the Belize district.

Cayo ranked as the second most attractive district in terms of absolute numbers with 2,785 in-migrants over the ten-year period. The bulk of Cayo's in-migrants (58.7%) came from Belize district with another major contributor being Stann Creek (23%). It is safe to say that most of the movement into Cayo would have been from individuals into Belmopan, the new Capital of the country. On April 7, 1970, Census Day, only 250 persons were in Belmopan, while on May 12, 1980, the population of Belmopan was recorded as being 2,935. Therefore, the bulk of the movement would have taken place during the ten-year period between censuses. The proximity of the Belize and Stann Creek districts to Cayo districts facilitated inter-district migration.

Toledo and Stann Creek appear to have been the least attractive districts. Only 448 individuals moved into Toledo and 865 into Stann Creek during this ten-year period. The Orange Walk and Corozal districts attracted a fair number of migrants with 1,933 and 1,809, respectively.

In relative terms, the Cayo attracted the most migrants. The persons migrating to Cayo during the period 1971-1980 made up 13.1% of the district's population in 1980. The Corozal and Orange Walk districts would have felt the impact of their migrants since these made up 9.4% and 9.1% of their 1980 population, respectively. The Toledo district attracted the least in relative terms only 4.5% of its 1980 population being migrants.

When studying migration, the persons who leave a particular region are as important as the persons who arrive. As discussed, the particular characteristics of a region may very well attract one type of individual while encouraging another to out migrate. Among the factors influencing the decisions to migrate are the type of employment available and the highest level of schooling offered both in the current region and in the region to which migration is being considered.

When discussing out-migration, Belize with 3,173 out-migrant ranks first. However, this number makes up only 6.7% of its 1980 population. Stann Creek, on the other hand ranks second in absolute numbers, with 2,978 out-migrant but first in relative terms with this number making up 23.3% of its 1980 population. The Stann Creek district was sending out more individuals than it was receiving from all points of view. The Toledo district ranks second in relative terms with its out-migrants making up 11.4% of its 1980 population. Considering that the in-migration for Toledo was very small, the in-migrants could have profound effect on the population structure. It should be noted that Stann Creek and Toledo are generally considered the two most economically depressed districts. Before 1986 any post-secondary schooling would have had to be undertaken in the Belize district. Furthermore, most jobs available within the district would require very little training or a low level of education. Jobs in the citrus and banana industries are the most prevalent. For this reason, the educated population would probably out migrate for economic reasons. The Corozal district experienced the least out-migration in both senses with only 931 persons, making up 4.5% of its population leaving.

Internal Migration 1981-1991

Table 5.4 is limited to the inter-district migration of the native population recorded in the 1991 Census. Overall, the number of migrants did not increase significantly over the two periods, (11,100 between 1971-1980, and 11,791 between 1981-1991). In fact, it can be argued that internal movements decreased since the respective numbers make up 8.4% and 7.3% of the 1980 and 1990 populations.

In terms of absolute numbers, the Belize district with 3,351 in-migrant, still attracted the most persons. However, this was an increase of only 92 individuals over the previous ten-year period. Stann Creek contributed 23.8% of the Belize district's migrants as opposed to 40% previously. Cayo, on the other hand, increased its contribution to the migration to the Belize district marginally to 23.8%. The Corozal and Orange Walk districts increased their contribution to the migration to Belize District from the first to the second periods significantly from 10.4% to 22.3% in the case of the former and 11.4% to 15.0% in the case of the latter.

Cayo district ranked second in terms of in-migrants with 2,878 persons, of which 1,146 or 38.6% came from the Belize district. Here, again, it is safe to say that most of those migrating from the Belize District would be relocating to the urban centers, primary Belmopan. Some of those coming in from the other districts were also moving to Belmopan, but also to other parts of the district in search of manual labour. The Orange Walk district ranks third with 1,636 with almost equal numbers coming from Corozal, Orange Walk and Cayo. The other two districts, Corozal and Stann Creek, attract almost equal numbers of in-migrants with 1,566 and 1,593 respectively. Corozal attracted the most persons from the Orange Walk while in the case of Stann Creek 38.6% of the in-migrants came from Toledo. The Toledo district received the least number of in-migrants with a total of 767 persons. The bulk of these persons came from the Belize (288) and Stann Creek (243) districts. Even in terms of its small population, the in-migrants to this most southern district made up 5.1% of its 1991 population.

Important to note is the percent of the 1991 district population that was made up of in-migrants to any given district. Outstanding are the Cayo and Stann Creek districts with 10.0% and 11.2%, respectively, of their 1991 population made up of in-migrants from the other districts.

Stann Creek, which leads with the number of in-migrants as a percent of its 1991 population, also leads with the number of out-migrants for the same population, this figure being 12.6%. Those individuals entering are most likely laborers for the citrus and banana industries and, therefore, moving into the rural areas. Those leaving would be mostly from Dangriga Town and would be leaving for education or employment reasons. Toledo has the second highest relative number of out-migrants (10.8% of its 1991 population). The Belize district leads in absolute numbers with 2,981 persons migrating during the 10 years. As mentioned before 39% of these out-migrants went to the Cayo district. However, due to the Belize districts' large population this number makes up 5.8% of its 1991 population. This is the smallest relative number of out-migrants among the six districts. Corozal, Orange Walk and Cayo each sent out 7.1%, 6.9% and 6.3%, respectively, of their 1991 population.

Selected Characteristics - 1980 and 1991

Trends in In-Migration and Out-Migration At The District Level

As can be seen in Table 5.5, the absolute number of individuals moving into the Corozal

district as opposed to those moving out in 1980 varied greatly when compared to 1991. In 1980 those leaving the district more than doubled the number entering (1,933 compared to 931). However, in 1991 this situation was altered (1,566 to 1,809). This means that the number leaving the district doubled while those entering slowed down slightly. The latter could be partly explained by the closure of the sugar factory in this district sometime after 1985. The former could be explained by the search for better employment opportunities as well as a desire for tertiary level education. Up to August 1996, going beyond the high school level meant leaving the Corozal district and going to Belize City. The first and only Pre-University institution of education in the Corozal did not open until 1986.

The Orange Walk district's migration pattern was similar to that of the Corozal district (1980: 1,809 to 1,008, 1991: 1,636 to 1,825).

The Belize and Cayo district's migratory behaviour was similar in both 1980 and 1991: the number of persons moving into these districts far exceeded the number leaving. As mentioned earlier, Belize City, located within Belize District, is the center of economic activity within the country as well as the most established center for tertiary education. Within the Cayo district is the nation's capital, Belmopan, with the majority of government employees residing there. Therefore, these two urban centers would not lose their attractiveness regardless of economic changes. However, those leaving these two districts would continue to be mostly professionals who have secured jobs in the other districts.

Although both censuses show fewer in-migrants than out-migrants for Stann Creek and Toledo, the patterns differ. While for the first period the number of individuals leaving more than tripled the number entering the Stann Creek district, this gap was narrowed to a neglible amount during the second period. The number of persons leaving the district for other parts of the country fell dramatically while the number of arrivals almost doubled. However, for the Toledo district the differences remain. Stann Creek experienced considerable growth in its citrus industry during the 1980's which means it would have attracted more manual labour than in the previous decade. Perhaps as a spin off effect of the boom, less persons out-migrated. In Toledo the same conditions that existed in the 1970's continued to exist in the 1980's.

Age Distribution

As Table 5.5 shows, the age distribution of out-migrants differed from that of in-migrants in both 1980 and 1991. Both age distributions also differed from that of the non-migrant population of the corresponding district in both census years.

For the Corozal district, in both 1980 and 1991 out-migrants have a slightly older distribution than the non-migrant population, denoted by the numbers making up the age-groups 15-34. However, those migrating into the district have a slightly younger age distribution denoted by the higher percent of 5-14 year olds and those persons over 35 years of age. This gives a picture of young families migrating into the district but single persons leaving. For Orange Walk in 1980, in-migrants had a higher percent of 15-34 year olds than both the out-migrant and the non-migrant populations. This persisted in 1991, but the differences were not as pronounced. For Corozal the net effect of the out-migrants and in-migrants would be a slightly younger population while for Orange Walk it would be a slightly older one.

In both decades the Belize district experienced an older distribution of in-migrants than both

the out-migrant and the non-migrant population. This can probably be explained by the fact that persons migrating to the Belize district are very likely to be those seeking employment or hoping to attend Sixth Form/University. These persons would probably be single or migrating alone as an initial step. Only after establishing themselves and making the decision to reside permanently in Belize City, would these individuals bring their families. For Cayo the percent in Table 5.5 reflects what took place in the 1970's and 1980's. When the new capital was opened, housing was made easily attained to those persons choosing to transfer or being transferred on appointment to Belmopan. As a result whole families moved and the age distribution of in-migrants was almost normal. However, the situation changed in the 1980's. Jobs were not as available and neither was housing. As a result the in-migrants to Belmopan tended to be single persons.

For Stann Creek in 1980 both the out-migrants and in-migrations had older age distributions than the non-migrant population. This again falls in line with what was mentioned previously. Individuals between the ages of 15-34 leave in search of work and higher education. As a result older people are left with the young children. Those entering the district in the 1970's brought their entire families along. However, this changed in the 1980's as denoted by the change to an older age distribution of in-migrants. These laborers appear not to bring very young children (0-4 years old) with them. The Toledo district showed a younger population in-migrating compared to the non-migrant population while out-migrants were slightly older than non-migrants. This situation changed during the 1980's. During this decade both age distributions of migrants were slightly older than non-migrants.

Sex Distribution

Table 5.6 shows the sex distribution of the three populations under consideration. For 1980 non-migrants, in all cases except Corozal and Orange Walk, the number of females exceeded the number of males. For the 1991 native population, Cayo joins the Corozal and Orange Walk districts with the number of females exceeding the number of males.

In the case of Corozal, although the non-migrant population has less females than males, the data show that during both time periods, more women moved into, and out of, the district than men. For Orange Walk this did not hold for the first time period even though the non-migrant population was similar to that of the Corozal district. The male population was the one that recorded the most migrants during the seventies but the situation reversed in the eighties when more migrated out (53.2% to 46.9%).

Belize District recorded a higher percent of females in-migrating during the first period. This pattern was even more defined during the second period (53.2% females to 46.8% males). But this was probably offset a little by the increase in female out-migration. Cayo, with its male population being slightly smaller than its female population, registered considerably more male out-migration during the seventies. This difference was somewhat lessened by 1991.

Stann Creek reveals a very interesting pattern. In both censuses the distribution of out-migrants was more or less the same and almost 50-50 according to sex. This shows that both men and women age 15-24 left the district in equal numbers. This reinforces the belief that they left for educational reasons. However, the in-migrant population in both years showed a considerable bias towards men; in 1980, 54.5% to 45.6 and in 1991, 53.4 to 46.6. The jobs available in this district are mostly in the citrus and banana industries, agricultural technicians and fruit pickers in the field,

with some machine operators, packers and sorters in the factories. However, it is not the type of jobs available but the living conditions which these persons have to endure which make the jobs available more attractive to men than to women.

In 1980, Toledo had significantly more women than men moving both into, and out of, the district even though the sex distribution of non-migrants is almost even. In 1991 the differences between the non-migrant, out-migrant and in-migrant distributions was negligible.

Ethnic Distribution

While the other variables such as sex, age, education and employment status serve to directly point out the specific needs of a population, ethnic distribution can do the same in an indirect manner. Redistribution can bring changes in the ethnic compositions of a population and if the ethnic groups have strong cultural characteristics which influence the variables mentioned above, new demands can be created.

Table 5.7 shows that the Creole population of Corozal is highly mobile. In 1980, although they made up only 16.7% of the native population, about 27.5% of those that out-migrated were Creoles. In 1991, only 7.3% of the non-migrant population were Creoles, however, 21.2 of the out-migrant and 18.3 of the in-migrants were Creole.

The Garifuna also registered a lot of movement relative to their share of non-migrants. They made up a much higher percent of in-migrants than those leaving in 1980 while the case reversed in 1991. It is interesting to note that during the second period only 3.1% of the non-migrants were Mennonites while 25.5% of those entering the district were Mennonites. The Mennonites were most likely moving into rural area of Corozal to already established Mennonite villages. The same holds for Creoles and Garifuna when considering migration in Orange Walk district in both years.

Whites made up 18.2% of those leaving from this district in 1980 but registered no movement in 1991. In 1980, when examining the Belize district, 8.4% of those out-migrating were Garifuna while this group made up 19.3% of those in-migrating. The Garifuna made up only 2.13% of the native population. It is probably safe to say that those leaving were seeking work in the Cayo district while those entering had come for educational purposes. This trend shows up in 1991 as well. Also noteworthy is that in 1980, 25% of those in-migrating to the Belize district were Mestizos and this percent increased to 35% in 1991. The above is explained by the areas from which most migrants came to the Belize district, namely Corozal, Cayo and Stann Creek.

In 1980 Cayo had a high percent of Creole in-migrants (59.1%). This is explained by the high percent of Creole out-migrants from the Belize district. This trend holds for 1991. Compared to the non-migrant population, a large percent of in-migrants were Mestizos. In Stann Creek 30.6% of those out-migrating were Garifuna in 1980, and 34.2% in 1991, while only 12.2% and 16.3% of those in-migrating were Garifuna. Those in-migrating are more than likely the educated Garifuna who returned home. The Maya registered considerable in-migration to Stann Creek making up 17.0% in 1980 and 29.4% in 1991 of in-migrants.

The Toledo district registered considerably more out-migration of Maya than in-migration (22.4% in 1980 and 49.1% in 1991). In 1980 the main receiving districts were the Corozal and Stann Creek while in 1991 the main receiving districts were the Orange Walk, Cayo and Stann Creek.

Distribution By Highest Level of Education Reached

The census data provide the level of education reached by an individual at the time of enumeration. In the case of out-migrants, or in-migrants, it does not provide the level of education at the time of last movement. However, by examining the patterns presented certain conclusions can still be drawn. The percent of each population reaching secondary and tertiary education are examined below.

Table 5.8 shows the general trend, with some exceptions of course, that a greater percent of the migrants reach a higher level of education than the non-migrant population of the districts for both periods under study. For the Corozal district, in both years the number of out-migrant and in-migrants with secondary and tertiary education was higher than that of the non-migrant population with the out-migrant being significantly so (1991: emigrants 30.8%, immigrants 24.3%, non-migrants 14.0%). This pattern can be seen in the case of the Orange Walk district, with the exception that the immigrants in 1991 were significantly more educated than in 1980 (1991:24.7%, 1980:13.9%). A possible explanation for the high level of education of in-migrants to these two districts is that these persons are return migrants. They have obtained a higher level of education in the Belize district and return home to reside.

The Belize district is an exception since only the out-migrants were better educated than the native population in 1980, and in 1991 the non-migrants were more educated than all migrants. In 1980 the majority of those moving out would have been going to Belmopan to work in government offices. Cayo is different than Corozal and Orange Walk in that the population it attracted in 1980 was more educated than both the non-migrants and emigrant populations. Although this difference narrowed a little in 1991, it is still significant (1980: immigrant 41.5%, emigrant 14.5%, non-migrant 6.0%; 1991: immigrant 37.9%, emigrant 28.0%, non-migrant 18.7%).

In Stann Creek, migrants of the first period were significantly more educated than the non-migrants (out-migrants 22.7%, in-migrants 20.6%, non-migrants 11.7%). However, during the second period this changed drastically. The non-migrants were almost on par with the in-migrants while those leaving were by far the most educated (out-migrants 32.4%, in-migrants 18.8%, natives 17.2%). The Toledo shows a very interesting pattern. Here the in-migrants are is significantly more educated than the out-migrant and the difference is even more pronounced when compared with non-migrants. (1980: in-migrants 29.9%, out-migrants 18.5%, non-migrant 4.5%; 1991: in-migrants 34.8%, out-migrants 20.9%, natives 9.4%). This can only be explained by return migration. Other data show that the Toledo district has the highest number of native born (in that district) resident there.

Distribution By Activity Status

The 1980 data show that the number not stated in response to activity status was relatively high. Therefore, its comparability to the 1991 is limited.

According to Table 5.9, the 1980 in-migrants have a slightly higher percent unemployed than the non-migrant population of Corozal and significantly more than the out-migrants. They also had the lowest percent of individuals out of the labour force. This situation changed in 1991 with out-migrants having the two characteristics mentioned above. It appears that those that left during the first period left more for educational purposes than for employment, but this situation reversed in 1991. Orange Walk had a similar situation although the change in direction was not as pronounced as with the first district.

For Belize district the out-migrant population of the first period had the highest percent employment with the smallest percent of persons out of the labour force. In 1991 the in-migrants to the Belize district were the ones who fit this profile. In both 1980 and 1991 the in-migrant population of this district had the highest percent unemployed among all districts. This points to the fact that more recently a substantial number of individuals are going to Belize City with the intention of working.

Among the three populations of Cayo, out-migrants had the highest percent employed in both 1980 and 1991. The Stann Creek had the highest percent employed among in-migrants for all six districts in 1980. Note that these rates should be taken with much caution since the numbers are small. However, it appears that the few persons who went to the Stann Creek went with the intention of taking up jobs that were available and probably did not migrate with dependents.

Toledo out-migrants and in-migrants show significantly higher employment percent as compared to the non-migrant population. The percent outside of the labour force is highest for non-migrants. This might imply that many individuals may be unwilling to do certain types of labour and prefer not to work considering the limited employment opportunities available in that district.

Conclusions

The figures indicate that the Belize district, more specifically Belize City, is a major attraction for persons seeking employment. Considering that these figures do not take into account the number of daily commuters from the two northern districts (Corozal and Orange Walk) it does not give a complete picture of the situation. A wide cross-section of workers migrate to Belize City. These include professionals, skilled and unskilled workers. Businesses tend to employ the professional or trained persons, while the construction and service sectors along with private homes employ both the skilled and unskilled.

In addition, although the need to move to Belize City in order to obtain a tertiary education is not as pressing as before, this city still draws a considerable number of in-migrants for this purpose. The only university in this country is located here. The sixth forms in the districts are beginning to make a reputation for themselves and hence migration into Belize City to attend sixth form has begun to taper off.

The above does create some problems for this city in the form of high crime rates, poverty, poor housing and sanitation conditions, and congestion due to narrow streets. The city does not appear to be expanding in its services to meet the demands of its people.

Stann Creek (more specifically Dangriga Town) and Toledo appear to be the most depressed districts. The in-migrants are mostly persons seeking employment in the citrus and banana industries or squatting on land. Dangriga Town seems to lack the social and economic infrastructures to retain its educated population. As a result a cycle is created. A phenomenon which has been observed in this area is that most families have relatives living and working in the U.S.A. and send home a monthly remittance. Therefore, the family members in Dangriga can afford to choose whatever type of employment they seek. Hence, the existence of the large proportion of persons outside the labour force. Some social problems associated with this district on a whole are high poverty and crime rates.

Toledo has always been considered the most economically depressed district. Associated with this district are poor health indicators such as high infant mortality and morbidity, poor educational standards, such as high dropout rates, low enrollment rates and poor infrastructure such as water and sanitation. Some consider the whole district, including its principal town, Punta Gorda,

to be basically rural. One main cause of this district's isolation has been its inaccessibility. The Southern Highway which runs through this district and leads to Punta Gorda has always been in need of repair. This puts a high cost on transportation in terms of money and time. As a result economic activity, in terms of investment ventures and tourism, are discouraged.

The construction of a new Southern Highway has begun. It is expected to be link for the Toledo to the rest of the country. It is also expected to serve to promote economic activity not only in that district but also in Stann Creek, a part of which is presently being serviced by the existing Southern Highway.

Migration is not necessarily bad and its net effect can be good in some instances, especially where it serves to balance out surpluses and needs. However, in some cases it can create imbalances. In the case of Belize it may be that imbalances are not being created in the sense of taking away needed skills from one area because better conditions exist, for example, in Belmopan and Belize City. If educated persons are flocking to certain parts of the country it simply means that there are no jobs of the type wanted in the sending districts. However, in terms of development and expansion, in the districts and rural areas, an outflow of educated persons does have a negative effect.

International migration also affects internal migration given the fact that some migrants have a plan with intermediate steps. Hence, large population increase like those that took place in rural Cayo need to be followed up closely to ensure that it is not just a momentary phenomenon. It is no use spending limited resources in long term development strategies if people only use the areas as stop-overs before moving on to other parts of the country.

Although Belize has a low population density, it does not mean it can go on accepting migrants indiscriminately for much longer. An international migration policy would be very helpful. But before coming up with one, Belize must have a long-term development plan. In that way, it would be clear as to the type of migrant that would contribute most to Belize's development. Such a development plan would also prioritize human resource development according to the need for overall economic development and growth. International migration would then cease to be an ad-hoc attempt for survival and would be have a more positive impact on development.

TABLE 5.1: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION 1991 & 1980

District and Sub-Divisions	1980 Pop.	1980 %	1991 Pop.	1991 %	Pop. Growth	% Change
Country Total	145,353	100.0	189,392	100.0	44,039	23.3
Urban	76,277	52.5	90,005	47.5	13,728	15.3
Rural	69,076	47.5	99,387	52.5	30,311	30.5
Belize	50,801	35.0	57,030	30.1	6,229	10.9
Belize City	39,771	27.4	44,087	23.3	4,316	9.8
San Pedro Town*	1,125	0.8	1,849	1.0	724	39.2
Belize Rural	9,905	6.8	11,094	5.9	1,189	10.7
Corozal	22,902	15.8	28,464	15.0	5,562	19.5
Corozal Town	6,899	4.7	7,062	3.7	163	2.3
Corozal Rural	16,003	11.0	21,402	11.3	5,399	25.2
Orange Walk	22,870	15.7	30,681	16.2	7,811	25.5
Orange Walk Town	8,439	5.8	11,014	5.8	2,575	23.4
Orange Walk Rural	14,431	9.9	19,667	10.4	5,236	26.6
Cayo	22,837	15.7	37,693	19.9	14,856	39.4
San Ignacio	5,616	3.9	8,962	4.7	3,346	37.3
Benque Viejo del Car	2,435	1.7	3,580	1.9	1,145	32.0
Belmopan	2,935	2.0	3,558	1.9	623	17.5
Cayo Rural	11,851	8.2	21,593	11.4	9,742	45.1
Stann Creek	14,181	9.8	18,085	9.5	3,904	21.6
Dangriga	6,661	4.6	6,435	3.4	(226)	-3.5
Stann Creek Rural	7,520	5.2	11,650	6.2	4,130	35.5
Toledo	11,762	8.1	17,439	9.2	5,677	32.6
Punta Gorda	2,396	1.6	3,458	1.8	1,062	30.7
Toledo Rural	9,366	6.4	13,981	7.4	4,615	33.0

TABLE 5.2: INTERNAL MIGRATION OF NATIVE POPULATION, 1981-1991

District of Residence '91	Never Moved	Corozal	Orange Walk	Belize	Cayo	Stann Creek	Toledo	dk/ns	Total
Corozal	22172	**1343**	679	508	208	110	61	434	25515
Orange Walk	22771	489	**1542**	496	436	121	94	366	26315
Belize	40477	747	504	**2204**	796	783	521	4238	50270
Cayo	22753	381	494	1146	**2514**	536	321	761	28906
Stann Creek	10732	121	106	493	258	**939**	615	913	14177
Toledo	11204	71	42	288	123	243	**1780**	1229	14980
Total	130109	3152	3367	5135	4335	2732	3392	7941	160163

TABLE 5.3: INTERNAL MIGRATION OF NATIVE POPULATION, 1971-1980

District of Residence 1980	Corozal	Orange Walk	Belize	Cayo	Stann Creek	Toledo	Total Immigrants	Pop. 1991	Immigrants as % of '80 Pop.
Corozal	0	429	524	292	531	157	1933	20570	9.4
Orange Walk	361	0	529	542	244	133	1809	19947	9.1
Belize	339	372	0	722	1288	538	3259	47463	6.9
Cayo	161	161	1635	0	643	185	2785	20359	13.7
Stann Creek	61	27	368	189	0	221	866	12804	6.8
Toledo	9	19	117	31	272	0	448	10767	4.2
TOTAL Emigrants	931	1008	3173	1776	2978	1234	11100	131910	
Emigrants as % of '80 Pop.	4.5	5.1	6.7	8.7	23.3	11.4	-	-	-

TABLE 5.4: INTER-DISTRICT MIGRATION OF NATIVE POPULATION , 1981-1991

District of Residence 91	Corozal	Orange Walk	Belize	Cayo	Stann Creek	Toledo	Total Immigrants	Pop. 1991	Immigrants as % of '91 Pop.
Corozal	0	679	508	208	110	61	1566	25515	6.1
Orange Walk	489	0	496	436	121	94	1636	26315	6.2
Belize	747	504	0	796	783	521	3351	50270	6.7
Cayo	381	494	1146	0	536	321	2878	28906	10.0
Stann Creek	121	106	493	258	0	615	1593	14177	11.2
Toledo	71	42	288	123	243	0	767	14980	5.1
Total Emigrants	1809	1825	2931	1821	1793	1612	11791	160163	-
Emigrants as % of 91 Pop.	7.1	6.9	5.8	6.3	12.6	10.8	-	-	-

TABLE 5.5: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS, 1980 & 1991

AGE	NON-MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	NON--IMMIGRANTS	MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS
COROZAL						
0-4	19.9	8.4	14.9	18.3	8.5	14.1
5-14	28.9	28.1	31.8	29.0	29.5	34.5
15-24	21.1	28.1	24.0	20.5	26.0	24.5
25-34	10.4	18.2	15.2	12.7	21.0	14.4
35-44	7.3	9.0	5.8	7.6	7.6	6.1
45-54	5.5	3.5	3.6	4.8	4.0	3.3
55-64	3.4	2.0	1.7	3.6	1.6	1.5
65+	3.6	2.5	2.1	3.5	1.8	1.7
DN/NS	0.0	0.1	0.9	0	0	0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	18012	931	1933	22172	1809	1566
ORANGE WALK						
0-4	22.9	14.8	5.8	20.7	10.7	10.6

AGE	NON-MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	NON--IMMIGRANTS	MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS
5-14	30.6	32.4	28.5	30.6	35.7	28.2
15-24	19.5	25.8	28.2	19.7	28.0	24.6
25-34	9.5	13.5	19.8	11.4	16.1	20.2
35-44	6.5	5.4	8.0	7.0	5.3	8.0
45-54	5.0	3.2	5.0	4.5	2.0	3.4
55-64	2.8	1.9	2.9	3.2	1.2	2.1
65+	3.2	2.6	1.8	3.0	1.0	2.8
DN/NS	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	17315	1008	1809	22771	1825	1636
BELIZE						
0-4	16.3	11.1	7.5	16.1	13.1	7.6
5-14	25.7	31.0	22.5	27.7	30.2	21.1
15-24	22.5	21.4	36.2	19.6	19.2	35.3
25-34	10.0	16.0	17.6	13.9	20.2	22.3
35-44	7.1	8.3	6.1	7.8	8.1	7.0
45-54	7.1	6.4	4.4	4.9	4.1	3.3
55-64	4.9	3.3	2.6	4.5	2.4	1.8
65+	6.4	2.2	2.2	5.6	2.6	1.5
DN/NS	0.1	0.3	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	42217	3173	3259	40477	2931	3351
CAYO						
0-4	21.3	5.5	19.8	22.6	10.2	9.6
5-14	31.5	27.7	31.5	31.4	22.1	34.2
15-24	19.5	33.5	18.9	18.2	31.1	21.4
25-34	8.7	19.6	12.5	9.8	20.7	19.8
35-44	6.2	6.5	7.6	6.5	8.0	7.6
45-54	5.6	4.3	5.1	4.5	3.6	3.4
55-64	3.5	1.7	2.6	3.4	2.4	2.1
65+	3.7	0.9	2.1	3.7	1.9	2.1
DN/NS	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

AGE	NON-MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	NON--IMMIGRANTS	MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	16549	1776	2785	22753	1821	2878
STANN CREEK						
0-4	19.4	15.7	19.0	21.0	10.2	12.4
5-14	28.8	27.6	38.5	31.4	30.1	32.4
15-24	18.9	27.9	18.4	16.6	27.1	20.7
25-34	8.2	13.7	11.9	9.5	18.6	17.9
35-44	6.3	5.0	5.0	6.2	7.3	8.8
45-54	6.8	4.2	3.8	4.3	3.2	3.6
55-64	5.3	2.3	1.9	4.8	2.1	2.7
65+	6.1	2.2	1.4	6.3	1.5	1.6
DN/NS	0.2	1.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	11034	2978	866	10732	1793	1593
TOLEDO						
0-4	21.7	8.8	30.2	25.8	7.9	14.2
5-14	30.5	28.6	40.0	34.2	27.0	31.0
15-24	18.0	29.2	10.8	15.0	29.2	20.0
25-34	9.9	16.2	7.1	9.3	18.9	15.7
35-44	6.3	7.5	2.2	6.0	9.3	9.9
45-54	6.1	3.3	2.4	3.2	3.9	5.3
55-64	4.1	3.3	2.2	3.5	2.1	2.0
65+	3.3	2.6	1.8	3.1	1.9	2.0
DN/NS	0.2	0.6	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0
No.	9781	1234	448	11204	1612	767

TABLE 5.6: SEX DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS, 1980 & 1991

SEX	Non-MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS	Non-MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS
COROZAL						
Male	51.1	47.3	49.8	50.9	48.5	48.3
Female	48.9	52.7	50.2	49.2	51.5	51.7
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
No.	**18012**	**931**	**1933**	**22172**	**1809**	**1566**
ORANGE WALK						
Male	51.9	51.5	52.3	51.9	46.9	49.7
Female	48.1	48.5	47.7	48.1	53.2	50.3
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
No.	**17315**	**1008**	**1809**	**22771**	**1825**	**1636**
BELIZE						
Male	48.7	50.6	48.3	49.2	48.9	46.8
Female	51.3	49.4	51.7	50.9	51.1	53.2
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
No.	**42217**	**3173**	**3259**	**40477**	**2931**	**3351**
CAYO						
Male	49.8	53.3	50.8	50.5	51.4	49.6
Female	50.2	46.7	49.2	49.5	48.7	50.4
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
No.	**16549**	**1776**	**2785**	**22753**	**1821**	**2878**
STANN CREEK						
Male	48.7	49.3	54.5	49.3	50.0	53.4
Female	51.3	50.7	45.6	50.7	50.0	46.6
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
No.	**11034**	**2978**	**866**	**10732**	**1793**	**1593**
TOLEDO						
Male	49.6	48.5	48.6	49.7	49.6	49.7
Female	50.4	51.5	51.4	50.3	50.4	50.3
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
No.	**9781**	**1234**	**448**	**11204**	**1612**	**767**

TABLE 5.7: ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS, 1980 & 1991

ETHNICITY	Non-MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	Non-IMMIGRANTS	MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS
COROZAL						
Creole	16.7	27.5	30.7	7.3	21.2	18.3
East Indian	3.2	4.9	1.9	6.4	5.3	4.5
Garifuna	1.0	4.8	13.6	1.1	6.9	3.9
Maya	14.8	8.5	11.2	5.0	4.4	4.0
Mennonite	-	0.0	0.0	3.1	0.2	25.5
Mestizo	61.4	52.5	28.8	76.9	60.5	43.0
Chinese	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1
White	0.3	0.0	8.5	0.1	0.1	0.7
Other races	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	1.5	0.1
Not stated	2.4	1.5	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0
No.	18012	931	1933	22172	1809	1566
East Indian	0.2	1.0	0.6	0.8	1.5	3.6
Garifuna	1.4	4.4	11.2	1.0	4.4	5.1
Maya	8.1	5.3	5.8	10.19	4.9	8.5
Mennonite	-	0.0	0.0	8.0	23.4	0.4
Mestizo	69.6	47.2	46.2	72.3	50.2	56.5
Chinese	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1
Syrian-Leb.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
White	9.4	18.2	1.3	0.0	0.1	0.4
Other races	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.7
Not stated	0.9	2.1	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.1
No.	17315	1008	1809	22771	1825	1636

ETHNICITY	Non-MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	Non-IMMIGRANTS	MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS
Creole	81.6	71.9	37.1	77.2	49.9	33.9
East Indian	1.2	2.0	4.7	3.0	5.3	6.1
Garifuna	2.1	8.4	19.3	4.0	12.8	17.3
Maya	0.5	0.9	3.9	0.6	2.1	6.7
Mennonite	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mestizo	11.4	15.0	25.1	14.0	28.6	35.1
Chinese	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1
Syrian-Leb.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1
White	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.0
Other races	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.9	0.6
Not stated	2.5	1.0	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0
No.	42217	3173	3259	40477	2931	3351
CAYO						
Creole	30.0	31.1	59.1	27.4	29.3	33.5
East Indian	0.6	1.3	3.7	1.6	4.0	3.3
Garifuna	0.7	1.8	10.3	1.2	3.7	10.1
Maya	6.1	6.8	1.8	9.6	7.1	11.6
Mennonite	-	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.4	1.1
Mestizo	54.0	54.2	19.9	54.8	54.1	39.7
Chinese	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Syrian-Leb.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0
White	5.3	1.6	1.7	0.2	0.2	0.1
Other races	1.1	0.5	1.0	0.3	1.2	0.5
Not stated	2.3	2.8	2.5	0.1	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9
No.	16549	1776	2785	22753	1821	2878
STANN CREEK						

ETHNICITY	Non-MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	Non-IMMIGRANTS	MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS
Creole	34.1	33.5	53.2	30.1	30.6	30.1
East Indian	2.4	2.7	1.6	3.8	7.3	4.5
Garifuna	49.7	30.6	12.2	49.0	34.2	16.3
Maya	6.6	4.4	17.0	6.0	7.8	29.4
Mennonite	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Mestizo	5.4	13.0	13.9	9.3	19.4	17.9
Chinese	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
White	0.1	1.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1
Other races	0.2	0.5	0.1	1.7	0.3	1.9
Not stated	1.6	14.1	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1
No.	11034	2978	866	10732	1793	1593
TOLEDO						
Creole	11.7	25.8	33.6	5.2	16.6	25.2
East Indian	9.4	9.5	2.0	7.8	8.8	16.1
Garifuna	11.7	29.5	35.8	11.1	13.8	27.0
Maya	60.1	22.4	8.2	68.3	49.1	7.9
Mennonite	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mestizo	5.3	10.4	6.4	7.0	11.1	21.0
Chinese	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3
WHITE	0.2	0.0	1.6	0.1	0.0	0.0
Other races	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.6	2.5
Not stated	1.6	2.3	12.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0
No.	9781	1234	448	11204	1612	767

TABLE 5.8: HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION REACHED - MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS 14 YEARS AND OVER NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL, 1980 & 1991

ETHNICITY	Non-MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	Non-IMMIGRANTS	MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS
COROZAL						
None	8.3	5.0	7.7	9.2	5.4	6.0
Nursery/infant	0.6	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
Primary	81.4	68.9	73.6	77.4	62.9	69.5
Secondary/Comp.	7.1	20.7	13.9	10.7	20.4	18.4
Pre-university	-	-	-	2.0	8.2	3.6
University	0.3	1.6	0.9	0.3	2.2	2.3
Other	0.3	1.4	1.3	0.2	0.5	0.1
Not stated	2.1	1.6	2.4	0.1	0.3	0.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0
NO.	9039	557	983	10973	1032	783
ORANGE WALK						
None	9.5	5.2	4.7	7.9	4.1	6.2
Nursery/infant	2.3	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.2
Primary	79.8	73.6	79.5	75.4	74.2	67.9
Secondary/Comp.	7.0	16.8	13.3	13.2	16.7	17.7
Pre-university	-	-	-	2.4	2.8	5.1
University	0.2	2.4	0.6	0.6	1.9	1.9
Other	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.6
Not stated	1.0	1.3	1.1	0.3	0.0	0.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.2	100.0	100.0
NO.	7961	465	1182	10447	935	962
BELIZE						
None	1.6	2.9	1.4	3.1	3.7	3.7
Nursery/infant	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0

ETHNICITY	Non-MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	Non-IMMIGRANTS	MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS
Primary	70.7	56.0	69.3	55.1	61.0	61.0
Secondary/Comp.	23.7	33.1	23.5	32.1	26.2	26.2
Pre-university	-	-	-	5.7	5.9	5.9
University	1.4	4.4	1.0	2.5	2.5	2.5
Other	1.1	2.5	1.0	0.6	0.4	0.4
Not stated	1.4	0.8	3.6	1.0	0.2	0.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NO.	21854	1699	1871	19908	1541	2092
CAYO						
None	9.9	5.3	3.1	7.7	7.5	5.4
Nursery/infant	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.1
Primary	82.4	77.8	51.6	72.8	64.1	56.2
Secondary/Comp.	5.7	13.8	35.2	14.5	21.4	25.2
Pre-university	-	-	-	2.9	3.9	8.7
University	0.3	0.7	6.3	1.3	2.7	4.0
Other	0.1	0.3	2.8	0.5	0.1	0.1
Not stated	1.2	2.0	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NO.	7564	1128	1400	9587	1138	1478
STANN CREEK						
None	4.2	3.5	9.6	4.4	5.1	7.4
Nursery/infant	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Primary	81.5	68.6	66.0	77.7	61.8	73.0
Secondary/Comp.	11.4	21.3	20.0	13.7	24.5	13.4
Pre-university	-	-	-	2.7	5.5	3.8
University	0.3	1.4	0.6	0.8	2.4	1.6
Other	0.1	0.6	1.1	0.4	0.4	0.7
Not stated	2.3	4.2	2.7	0.4	0.3	0.1

ETHNICITY	Non-MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	Non-IMMIGRANTS	MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0
NO.	5253	1342	365	4686	948	874
TOLEDO						
None	18.1	4.6	6.7	18.6	8.5	5.8
Nursery/infant	0.5	0.3	1.0	0.0	0.2	0.0
Primary	75.4	71.5	55.8	72.0	70.1	58.6
Secondary/Comp.	4.5	17.8	26.0	7.9	16.0	26.1
Pre-university	-	-	-	1.3	3.8	7.4
University	0.0	0.7	3.9	0.2	1.1	1.3
Other	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.8
Not stated	1.5	3.2	6.7	0.1	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0
NO.	4584	695	104	4367	985	394

TABLE 5.9: ACTIVITY STATUS OF MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS 15 YEARS AND OVER 1980 & 1991

ACTIVITY	Non-MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	Non-IMMIGRANTS	MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS
COROZAL						
Employed	50.7	47.1	52.6	48.4	55.8	49.2
Unemployed	1.3	1.2	2.2	1.2	2.0	1.5
Out of L.F.	40.6	43.0	38.8	50.0	41.3	48.6
Not stated	7.4	8.9	6.4	0.4	1.0	0.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0
NO.	9235	591	1031	11676	1121	805
ORANGE WALK						
Employed	51.2	45.3	55.4	49.8	50.8	49.6
Unemployed	1.0	1.3	2.3	1.2	1.4	2.8
Out of L.F.	43.0	36.4	38.3	48.0	47.3	46.5
Not stated	4.8	17.0	3.9	1.0	0.5	1.2

ACTIVITY	Non-MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	Non-IMMIGRANTS	MIGRANTS	EMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NO.	8050	532	1194	11078	978	1001
BELIZE						
Employed	48.8	59.2	50.3	51.6	52.9	59.0
Unemployed	4.8	2.9	2.4	2.6	3.4	2.0
Out of L.F.	33.5	29.4	29.8	43.2	41.9	38.0
Not stated	12.9	8.4	17.5	2.7	1.8	1.0
TOTAL	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NO.	24470	1838	2306	22761	1660	2389
CAYO						
Employed	48.9	60.5	55.2	47.6	58.2	53.3
Unemployed	2.5	1.8	3.1	2.2	2.1	2.4
Out of L.F.	41.8	30.1	30.3	49.0	39.1	42.7
Not stated	6.8	7.7	11.4	1.3	0.6	1.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
NO.	7826	1186	1590	10474	1232	1620
STANN CREEK						
Employed	46.1	46.7	64.9	39.5	53.4	57.8
Unemployed	4.8	3.4	1.6	3.1	2.3	2.4
Out of L.F.	38.9	33.4	26.5	54.6	42.8	39.1
Not stated	10.1	16.6	7.0	2.7	1.5	0.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
NO.	5721	1687	373	5108	1071	880
TOLEDO						
Employed	45.8	54.9	50.4	42.7	57.5	52.0
Unemployed	1.5	2.5	2.2	1.8	2.3	3.8
Out of L.F.	45.4	32.7	27.4	54.5	39.4	43.2
Not stated	7.3	10.0	20.0	1.1	0.9	1.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.2
NO.	4675	773	135	4485	1050	442

CHAPTER 6

EDUCATION

Introduction

Educational attainment is an important social indicator. It is closely linked with other key indicators such as infant mortality, fertility, empowerment, the quality of the labour force and the quality of life. But educational attainment is also important from an economic point of view. It accurately reflects a country's investments in the development of its human resources and has many implications for overall future development. For a country to plan for the future, it must know the past trends and present situation as they relate to education. This chapter will examine important issues: primary school enrollment rates, high school enrollment rates, and for the population fourteen years and older (who are not presently attending school), educational attainment.

Past and present school enrollment rates reflect the importance given to education by the state and the value placed on it by the population. It should be noted that enrollment rates do not necessarily reflect the completion rates of primary nor secondary schooling. Enrollment rates may give an indication of how our schools attract, but fail to keep, our young population. This failure is due in part, to irrelevant school curricula, insufficient (and inadequate) school facilities and very high student-teacher ratios.

As mentioned elsewhere in this document, the geographic distribution of population and the attendant characteristics of the diverse ethnic groups which make up the population of Belize lend themselves to unequal access to, and differing levels of, existing educational facilities. The need exists to examine the three educational areas mentioned by particular characteristics of the population. In this way intervention can be facilitated.

Enrollment Rates - 5-13 Years

Only persons 5 - 13 years of age are used in the enrollment analysis, mainly because school is only compulsory for children between these ages. The bulk of these children are enrolled in primary school.

The pertinent question used from the 1980 Census was Question 18, "Attendance at school or university (option full-time)." Questions used from the 1991 Census were Question 5.5, "Is ..... presently attending any school or education institute now" and Question 5.6, "Are you/is he/she attending full-time or part-time?"

Only persons age 5 - 13 who are presently attending school full-time will be considered as enrolled. The reason for this is that although a full secondary school education can be attained on a part-time basis, it is not possible to do so for a primary school education.

Educational statistics gathered directly from the schools have a disadvantage that in order to calculate enrollment rates, two different sources of data are needed: data gathered from schools which provide the number enrolled, and mid-year estimates of the population collected from some other source such as a census or survey. Additionally, through education statistics gathered directly

from the schools, enrollment can only be examined by grade, sex and geographic area. However, census data provide all necessary data for the calculation of enrollment rates and make it possible to examine enrollment rates by other characteristics. Additional variables, such as ethnicity and place of birth (Belize vs Abroad) will be considered for both censuses.

Discussion of Results

As can be seen from Table 6.1, overall enrollment rates were at the same level in 1991 as in 1980. While an enrollment rate of over 90% can be considered high, it is of some concern that it did not increase over the eleven year period.

The difference between male and female enrollment is negligible for both years. Enrollment rates for males and females in 1980 were 90% and 89%, respectively. For 1991, these rates remained the same. Further analysis of enrollment rates by sex, by age-group, ethnicity, urban/rural location, place of birth and district yielded no significant difference. (Data not shown) This once again points to equal accessibility to primary school education for males and females. It also implies that, at least to this level, there are no cultural biases when it comes to schooling which generally favor males.

When examining enrollment by age-group, there seems to be a higher overall enrollment rate for both years in the age-group 10-13 years than for the younger age-group 5-9 years. These rates were 91.9% and 88.5% in 1980 for the older and younger age-groups and in 1991, 92.3% and 88.1%. A possible explanation for this is that children do not actually start attending school until they are six or seven. In addition, both censuses took place in May, which meant that children who were five at that point would not have commenced regular school until September of that year. This means that while they were included in the school age population, they had not yet enrolled.

As can be seen from Table 6.2, both the Garifuna and the Creole had enrollment rates of well over 90% in both 1991 and 1980. Both ethnic groups experienced slight increases over the eleven year period. It is noteworthy that, although not by a significant amount, the Garifuna enrollment rate was higher than the Creoles in both 1980 and 1991. Of greater concern is that the Maya and Mestizo population actually had a slight decrease in their enrollment rates. The group to make the most significant gains was "Other". It increased from 78.8% in 1980 to 84.2% in 1991. This group is made up of mostly East Indians, Chinese, and Whites. It is known that the last two groups emphasize education; and therefore, this could have contributed to the increase in enrollment for of this category.

There exist significant differences between the highest and the lowest enrollment rates by ethnicity. In 1980 the category "Other" had the lowest enrollment rate (78.8%) which was 15.3 percentage points lower than the Garifuna. Of particular interest is that the Maya had the second lowest (84.8%) which is still (9.3 points) lower than the Garifuna. In 1991, the Maya had the lowest enrollment rate, 13.6 points lower than the Garifuna. The category "Other" now held the second lowest position, but still noticeably below that of the Garifuna by 12.6 points. The Mestizo category which kept its median position for both censuses was in both cases still several percentage points behind the Garifuna and Creole.

As mentioned previously there was no significant difference between the enrollment rates by sex. However, as Table 6.2 shows, a closer look at age-groups by ethnicity does yield some

interesting information. The Mayas have the largest difference in enrollment between the two age groups. Although the explanation given above with regard to the timing of the census and the beginning of the school year would account partly for the difference, the other part would be explained by the fact that the Maya tend to send their children to school later than the other ethnic groups. The difference in enrollment rates was increased slightly between censuses reflecting either a slight regression in attitudes (differences 1980: 7.5%, 1991: 9.9%) or an increase in accessibility to schooling. This in-accessibility could be in the form of more limited classroom space due to an increase in the number of children of school age.

In contrast, the Garifuna population narrowed the difference in enrollment by age-group from 3.3% in 1980 to 1.5% in 1991. This reflects the general importance that is placed on education by this ethnic group. The group "other" which includes East Indians, Chinese, Lebanese, Whites and Mennonites also have a large difference between the two age groups. A possible explanation for this could be that the Mennonites and East Indians influenced this group considerably. The Mennonite send their children to school around the age of seven or eight. East Indians especially in the rural areas also send their children after the age of six.

Enrollment rates are significantly higher in urban than rural areas in both years. Although there was a small decrease, differences remain. In 1980 85.4% of the population in rural areas were enrolled as opposed to 94.6% in the urban areas. In 1991, 86.3% of the rural population and 94.5% of the urban was enrolled. Possibly the location of schools is not convenient, or simply the need for education does not appear as important in rural areas as in urban. The former reason implies that certain hardships are imposed on children, such as walking long distances (which is of particular concern during the rainy season) and going long periods without meals. This would discourage parents from sending very young children to school.

Even though there is a difference in enrollment rates by age in urban areas, the difference is more pronounced in rural areas. Children are enrolling at an earlier age in cities and towns than in the rural areas. This is due to attitudes toward education in rural areas and the hardships involved in attending school in rural locations. Distances to school can be far and the roads may be in very poor condition.

In both 1980 and 1991, alarming differences existed between the enrollment rates for the population born in Belize and that born abroad. The Belizean-born population led the foreign-born in both years by over 15%. While the large immigrant population which entered the country during the 1980's helped to keep the rate low for the foreign-born, it is a cause for concern that the Belizean-born population did not increase its enrollment rate between censuses. The foreign-born population also send their children to school at a younger age than the native-born.

While the differences in enrollment rates by district are not as large as those which exist by place of birth or urban/rural setting, some significant differences do exist. It is worthwhile to note that the Belize district had enrollment rates of over 90% in both 1980 and 1991. The only other district to reach 90% in both censuses was Stann Creek. In the past the Belize district had the highest percent of Creole population, while Stann Creek had the highest percent of Garifuna. These being the two most educated groups would certainly serve to raise enrollment rates in these districts. In 1980 Orange Walk had the lowest enrollment rate (86.5%), 8.8% lower than that of Belize District. The Toledo and Cayo enrollment rates declined over the eleven year period, by 3.6% and 2.0% respectively. Toledo now has the lowest enrollment rate. All other districts either improved slightly

or remained the same.

As can be recalled from other chapters, Cayo attracted a large immigrant population, primarily from Central America. These immigrants have lower levels of education than Belizean-born persons. It is a known fact that there is a strong correlation between the level of education of parents and the importance attached to the education of the children. That, compounded by the fact that immigrants might be afraid to send their children to school (for fear of the requirement of proof of legal entry into Belize), would further discourage parents from sending their children to school. Language would be another barrier to enrollment especially for the children who migrate to Belize at an intermediate level of schooling. While Spanish would be their language of communication, in Belize the official language is English. Very young children have the ability to adapt easily and quickly to another language, however, older children tend to have a more difficult time. Difficulties arise even though in some rural areas efforts are being made to accommodate the children.

Toledo registered a wider gap in 1991 than in 1980 between the percent enrolled by age-group (1991: 12.2, 1980: 9.8). About 51.7% of all international migrants to this district were Mayas and another 36% were Mestizos. This is a possible explanation for the decline in enrollment rates as well as the increase in the age at which children are first sent to school.

Enrollment Rates - 14-17 Years

Unlike the 5 - 13 year old group, school attendance is not obligatory after the age of 14. In addition, the bulk of those attending school in this age group (14-17 years), are enrolled in high school. For this reason what will be examined here is secondary school enrollment rates.

The questions from the two Censuses used in this analysis are, Question 17, "Type of school or university being attended" and Question 18, "Full-time/part-time student" from the 1980 Census and Question 5.5, "Is ...presently attending any school or educational institution now?", Question 5.6, "Are you/he/she attending full-time or part-time?" and Question 5.7, "What type of school or institution are you/is he/she attending?" from the 1991 Census.

Until 1991 there were approximately 30 high schools from the urban areas, such as Belize City, and the main towns in each district.

Discussion of Results

As Table 6.3 shows, although enrollment at the secondary level is still much lower than at the primary level, it increased remarkably between 1980 and 1991. In relative terms it increased by almost 50% (1991: 43.1%, 1980: 29.3%). It is interesting to note that females had a higher enrollment rate than males in both years (1980: 4.7%, 1991: 3.7%) although males registered a slightly higher increase in enrollment.

The Creoles had the highest secondary enrollment rates in both 1980 and 1991 (1980: 38.6%, 1991: 60.4%), followed closely by the Garifuna. In contrast, the Maya had low enrollment rates. The predominantly rural location of the Maya could account for these low rates. The Maya reside mostly in the Toledo district, although they can be found in some rural areas of other districts. Mobility in the Toledo district has always been very limited due to extremely poor roads. This in turn discourages other forms of communication such as phone lines and regular transportation. The only high school in this district was not opened until 1984 and is located in Punta Gorda Town. It still requires great effort to attend high school in town, in terms of cost, if the student resides in town,

or extreme hardship if the student attempts to travel daily.

The difference between the Creole and the Garifuna is much smaller than the difference between the Mestizo (third in rank) and the Garifuna. The group "Other" ranks close behind the Mestizos.

When examining ethnicity by sex, some interesting differences are revealed in Table 6.4. In both census years Creole females had a much higher enrollment rate than Creole males (almost a 10% difference). For the Garifuna the difference was not as pronounced in 1980, however, by 1991 the enrollment of females was almost 10% higher than males. The situation here is complex. It can be said that this type of behavior is historical. Both the Creoles and Garifuna are descendants of African tribes that had matriarchal societies. Women are considerably more independent and self-reliant. Therefore, the decision as to who should attend high school in the case of limited resources would not restrict females. When examining common-law marriages and births out of wedlock, it can be seen that the Creoles and Garifuna have the highest rates. This gives women more authority to make decisions with regard to their children's education. These two ethnic groups also have the highest number of parents living and working in the U.S.A. As a result, children are left in the care of grandparents who may have a more difficult time disciplining boys than girls for traditional reasons. This could also result in more females enrolling and remaining in high-school than males. In contrast the Maya have a decidedly patriarchal society. This is reflected in the enrollment rates for both 1980 and 1991. Even though the overall enrollment rate increased considerably (4.5% to 19.0%) the gender differences remained.

As expected urban areas had much higher enrollment rates than rural areas in both census years (1980: 45.3 to 9.8; 1991 63.0 to 23.2). However, the enrollment rate for the rural experienced a much higher relative increase during the intercensal period then the urban; it increased by about two and a half times as much. Increased accessibility to schools, including a few high schools being built at the rural district level, better roads and availability of transport, as well as an increased awareness of the importance of education could have accounted for this increase.

It is interesting to note that when examining these rates by urban/rural male and females have almost equal enrollment rates (the females being just slightly higher). The only possible explanation for this is that the Mestizos make up a large portion of rural residents. Since they have almost equal enrollment rates for both sexes, the sheer numbers are sufficient to affect the participation rates for rural areas. In addition, rural rates are also influenced by Creole and Garifuna high school participants that reside in these rural areas.

The foreign born population of Belize have much lower enrollment rates in both years. However, the gap between the two widened considerably over the intercensal period. As with enrollment for primary school, high school enrollment would be limited by the importance attached to education and by the areas in which the immigrants first settle (initial place would be rural).

With regard to enrollment rates by district, the Belize district stands above the rest in both 1980 and 1991. In 1980 Stann Creek ranked second and Cayo third, however, these two positions switched in 1991. Orange Walk had the lowest enrollment rate in 1980, and although it still ranked second lowest in 1991, this district experienced the most relative improvement. Toledo had the lowest enrollment rate in 1991. The situation with Orange Walk and Toledo are similar to the enrollment rates for 5-13 year olds. One plausible explanation is that before 1980 there was not enough importance placed on the education of children. However. with increased awareness the

Orange Walk district began to take advantage of having an established high school with easy accessibility. This district does not have the communication problems, at least not to the same extent, which Toledo experiences. In addition, another high school was opened during the 1980's in this district.

Toledo is the most rural district in Belize as evidenced by the terrible conditions of their roads. Even with increased awareness, the inhabitants of this district would still face considerable obstacles to attending high school.

Completed Education - 14 Years and Over

Only the population 14 years and over who are not presently attending school is included in this part of the analysis. Furthermore, the analysis is based only on the 1991 Census. Questions used from this Census were, Question 5.1, "What is the highest level of education that ..... has reached?", Question 5.3, "How many years ..... complete at highest level?" and Question 5.5, "Is ..... presently attending any school or educational institution now?"

Since the 1991 Census did not include any direct question on highest level of education completed, questions 5.1 and 5.3 have been combined in order to estimate the number of persons completing each level of education. Variables such as age, sex, ethnicity, urban/rural location, place of birth (Belize vs Abroad) and district are used in the analysis.

Discussion of Results

From Table 6.5, we can see that more than half of the population have only completed primary school (54.3%) and about a fifth have no education at all. Only 15.5% of people have completed secondary school. Those persons who have completed pre-university and university still remain a small number making up only 4.0% and 2.9%, respectively, of our population.

This is the expected pattern given the present and past situation with schools in Belize. Although the situation in 1991 will be referred to, it must be remembered that the situation has gradually improved over time. Hence, the older a person, the more adverse the circumstances relating to educational opportunities.

In 1991 there were about 259 primary schools in the country, less than one-third in urban areas with the rest located in rural areas. About 48% of the population reside in urban areas, however, the rural population is spread over approximately 300 villages scattered throughout the country, some in very remote areas. In addition, quite a number of households were not located within village/community boundaries. For certain districts, due to poor or non-existent roads, transportation can be a real problem. In very remote areas education is almost unavailable, and when it is, it is not very dependable for scheduling purposes. The more rural a community the more problems it will tend to have finding and keeping trained teachers. Teachers that relocate to the rural areas tend to leave as soon as another, better opportunity for teaching in a less remote location presents itself. The percent of trained teachers was almost twice as high in urban as in rural areas (Education Statistical Digest 1992). Generally, the district which has the most problems is Toledo which is located in the southernmost part of the country.

More recently not all the districts have the accessibility problems to the same extent. Some districts have good main roads running through them, and many of the villages tend to be located alongside, or near, these. These districts are mainly the two northern districts, Corozal and Orange

Walk, and Belize District. While the overall student:teacher ratio was only 26.6:1 (Education Statistical Digest 1992), this ratio varied considerably from urban to rural areas. Although rural areas tend to have lower student:teacher ratios, problems in quality of the teaching still exist due to multiple grade teaching. The quality of the education can be assessed by the performance of students on the primary leaving examination which determines whether or not students can gain entry into secondary schools.

However, the circumstances in cities and towns are not as ideal as they appear. Different social problems, such as single parent households, peer pressure, and children left in the care of grandparents while parents work in the U.S.A. operate in urban areas. These circumstances have been shown to have a high correlation with children's school participation.

While accessibility to primary school does not really differ from urban to rural areas, the accessibility to a high school education is still more favourable to urban residents. This difference would have been even more pronounced in the past when secondary schooling was limited to urban areas of Belize and to the rural areas that have easy access to main towns and cities. Belize City has the longest history of secondary education with high schools dating back to the 1800's. Before the 1960's it was the only urban center with a high school. Attending high school from out-district meant high costs and living away from home. Not surprisingly, before 1960 very few persons from out-district graduated from high school when compared to those from Belize City.

In the 1960's high schools started to open in district towns. However, it was only recently that a few high schools have been opened in rural areas. The number is still extremely small, and the rural areas covered are few.

Before 1986, tertiary education was even more out of reach for certain segments of the population. The first university was opened in 1986 in Belize City. Before that the highest level of education available in Belize was Sixth Form. Here again, Belize City was at the forefront. The two oldest Sixth Forms are located there. It was not until 1986 that Sixth Forms started to open in the Districts. So far Punta Gorda, in Toledo, San Ignacio/Santa Elena and San Pedro Town remain the only urban centers without a Sixth Form. There is a Sixth Form located in the Capital City of Belmopan which services the San Ignacio area and the other two towns have such small populations that a Sixth Form may not be economically feasible.

Even though Sixth Forms are not limited to Belize district, higher costs still exist for the residents of rural areas who may have to relocate to urban centers or incur transportation and other costs. It would appear, therefore, that the barriers which would have faced the population before 1986, would have been even greater especially in the form of higher cost for boarding and lodging, due to having to reside in Belize City; higher transportation costs due to further distances traveled; and the emotional and psychological stress faced by young persons having to live away from home.

The general trend is as expected; there is a slightly higher percent of women completing primary, secondary and sixth form levels of education. However, there are more men than women completing university. With the exception of the oldest age-group, the percent completing primary school increased over time. The same is true for secondary and pre-university, but not for the youngest age group. Of all the ethnic groups, the Garifuna displayed a higher completion rate for primary school (68.5%) followed by Creoles (60.1%). The Mestizos and Mayas have almost equal rates (50.8% and 51.7% respectively). The Creoles have the highest completion rate for secondary

schooling (22.9%) followed by the Garifuna, Mestizos and Maya. The Maya had the lowest completion rate (only 4.7%). Similar patterns can be observed for post secondary schooling with the Creoles and Garifuna vying for first place, the Mestizos ranking third and the Mayas last.

Of much concern is the percent of Maya who have not completed any education (41.3%). The Mestizos also have high rates for no education, with almost one-third not having completed any education. The vast majority of persons with no education are located in rural areas. Likewise, the percent of persons not having completed any education is extremely high for persons born abroad. Toledo ranks first in this analysis with 38.3% of its population not having completed any education. The other districts are similar in their rates.

According to urban/rural location, with the exception of primary school where both the urban and rural dwellers have similar rates, urban residents have a higher percent of graduates at the secondary and tertiary levels. The Belizean-born have much higher rates of completion at all levels except University. This is explained by the fact that Central American immigrants would have lower levels of education than the Belizean-born, however, the other foreign born from the U.S.A., Canada and Europe would be highly educated. When examining the data by district, the Belize District has 25.3% of its population completing a secondary level education, 6.1% pre-university and 4.4% university. Cayo follows with 13.7%, 3.5% and 3.4%, respectively. However, Cayo has an almost equal number of graduates from pre-university as it does from university. Except for primary school, Toledo has the lowest completion rates at all levels.

At the national level, the data show that a slightly higher percent of women than men have completed all levels of education up to, but not including, University. There is a higher percentage of men completing university level education, although women seem to be narrowing the gap (Refer to Table 7.6). The older the age group the wider the gap between the percent of men and women completing university level education. This is the exception since when examining the data by age even the oldest age group (65+ years) have a higher percent of women graduating from primary up to tertiary level.

As can be observed from the data, the age groups with the highest percent of university graduates is 35-49 years old. In the past Belizeans have tended to obtain a first degree at older ages than persons in other countries. As mentioned previously, it was not until 1986 that a full-fledged university was established in Belize. However, the areas of specialty offered are limited. Belizeans continue to rely, to a major extent, on scholarships from abroad. In the past the pattern has been to work for a few years and then attempt to get funding. Hopefully, the area in which the person was working was an area of priority for the funding agencies or government and a scholarship would be provided. It is only recently that persons are obtaining their degrees at a younger age. The University of Belize is accessible to certain segments of our population and USAID had been offering a number of scholarships each year to study in the U.S.A. This latter source, however, has now come to an end.

The Creoles and Mestizos have shown the most improvement in the secondary completion rate over time. The urban dwellers have shown a very small improvement at the primary level (56.8% for those 65+, 61.9% for those 14-19) while the rural residents have shown a large improvement (38.4 for those 65+, 61.7% for those 14-19).Urban dwellers have seen the most improvement at the pre-university and university levels.

When examining the sex distribution by ethnicity certain differences can be seen (Table 6.6).

Creoles have a higher percent of women graduating from both secondary and pre-university levels, however, at the University level, the men supersede the women. The Garifuna and Maya have a similar pattern with more males than females completing all post-primary levels. The Mestizos have more women than men completing both primary and secondary level, about equal numbers completing pre-university and the situation reverses for the university level.

Urban women have higher completion rates up to pre-university level but fall behind men at university level. Rural women, however, only have higher completion rates at the primary level, equal the men at the secondary level and fall behind from pre-university level onwards. Persons born abroad follow a similar pattern as that of urban women. The Belize District is the exception when examining women's completion rate at the primary school level. In all other districts women have higher completion rates than men. In Belize, Cayo and Stann Creek females had higher completion rates at the high school level. In the other districts the reverse was true. Exactly the same pattern can be observed for pre-university education. In all districts males had the highest completion rates at the University level.

Conclusion

It is very important to note that enrollment rates should not be mistaken for completion rates. Other data indicate that the overall completion rates for primary school are lower than the 1991 enrollment rate. A possible explanation for this is that many students register at the beginning of a school year but do not attend school continuously throughout the academic year. Some may take time off for a variety of reasons including engaging in economic activity or helping at home to enable parents to engage in economic activity. These young persons may drop so far behind in their studies that they may end up having to repeat the school year and eventually may never graduate from primary school.

The highest educational priority of this country should be to attract and retain our young students and to provide them with a good basic education. A primary school education is the basis for all future education. Once this level is completed there has to be elsewhere to go, namely secondary school. Therefore, focusing on ensuring that all necessary details such as sufficient numbers of school spaces, enough trained teachers, relevant curriculum, adequately equipped school facilities, necessary transportation, etc. are in place will go a long way in improving completion rates. Another area which would help would be to provide technical/vocational training at the primary, secondary and pre-university levels. This training would come in useful for the students not interested in academic studies, but wishing to pursue a more practical and job-oriented education. A wider cross-section of needs would be satisfied and hence the ability to attract and retain our young population would be enhanced. Only when completion rates increase will Belize be able to 'brag' about its high enrollment rates.

Although the proportion of the total population which is school-age (5-17 years old, if only primary and secondary were to be focused on) will decrease over the next 25 years (see Chapter 11), the absolute number will continue to grow. Hence the demand for more school spaces, teachers, etc. will continue to grow. At present the quality of education needs to be improved. The cost of keeping up with the technological age is huge. At the moment Belize is just beginning to introduce important subject such as computer science. Improving quality while trying to increase quantity will demand even more resources.

The data show there is no need to focus resources on attempting to gain equality between the sexes, at least up to the secondary level. With all the existing awareness campaigns these days, this attitude will grow stronger and carry over to pre-school and university level of its own accord. Where attention needs to be focussed is on the rural areas, particularly on the Maya and Mestizo populations, the Toledo district and the immigrant population. Actually a high correlation exists between these characteristics. By improving the social and economic circumstances of Toledo and other very rural areas, the ethnic groups will be taken care of as well as a large portion of the immigrant population.

TABLE 6.1: ENROLLMENT (BELIZE COUNTRY-5 TO 13 YEARS, 1991&1980

	1991 CENSUS		1980 CENSUS	
Group	Total	Percent Enrolled	Total	Percent Enrolled
Total	47305	89.9	37410	89.9
Male	23979	90.0	18765	90.0
Female	23326	89.7	18645	89.7
5-9	27598	88.1	21817	88.5
10-13	19707	92.3	15593	91.9
Creole	7266	95.0	14706	93.7
Garifuna	3280	96.8	2884	94.1
Maya	5630	83.2	3788	84.8
Mestizo	20149	88.1	12686	89.0
Other	3937	84.2	3346	78.8
Urban	20620	94.5	18302	94.6
Rural	26685	86.3	19108	85.4
Belize	42986	91.3	35645	90.7
Abroad	4309	76.2	1765	75.2
DK/NS	10	80.0	0	0.0
Corozal	7100	89.9	5972	87.0
Orange Walk	7781	88.5	6253	86.5
Belize	12757	94.7	11662	94.2
Cayo	10089	87.5	6423	89.5
Stann Creek	4588	90.2	3776	90.1
Toledo	4990	83.8	3324	87.4

1991 - 21 respondents did not state whether presently enrolled or whether enrolled part-time or full-time.

1980 - 946 respondents did not state whether presently enrolled or whether enrolled part-time or full-time.

TABLE 6.2: ENROLLMENT BY AGE GROUP (BELIZE COUNTRY - 5-13 YEARS), 1991 & 1980

	1991 CENSUS		1980 CENSUS	
GROUP	TOTAL	PERCENT ENROLLED	TOTAL	PERCENT ENROLLED
TOTAL	47305	89.9	37410	89.9
MALE				
5-9	13904	87.9	10900	88.4
10-13	10075	93.0	7865	92.3
FEMALE				
5-9	13694	88.4	10917	88.5
10-13	9632	91.5	7728	91.5
CREOLE				
5-9	7266	93.8	8486	93.0
10-13	7043	96.6	6220	94.7
GARIFUNA				
5-9	1639	96.2	1649	92.7
10-13	1641	97.7	1235	96.0
MAYA				
5-9	2868	79.0	2280	81.8
10-13	2762	88.9	1508	89.3
MESTIZO				
5-9	10176	86.9	7441	87.9
10-13	9973	89.6	5245	90.5
OTHER				
5-9	2030	80.8	1961	75.2
10-13	1907	88.9	1385	83.8
URBAN				
5-9	10408	93.2	10420	93.6
10-13	10212	96.2	7882	96.0
RURAL				
5-9	13571	84.4	11397	83.8

	1991 CENSUS		1980 CENSUS	
10-13	13114	89.0	7711	87.7
BELIZE				
5-9	21794	89.5	20827	89.1
10-13	21192	93.7	14818	92.7
ABROAD				
5-9	2179	71.5	990	74.2
10-13	2130	80.6	775	76.4
COROZAL				
5-9	3554	90.4	3513	86.7
10-13	3546	89.1	2459	87.4
ORANGE WALK				
5-9	3937	87.5	3640	85.1
10-13	3844	89.9	2613	88.4
BELIZE				
5-9	6520	93.4	7116	73.5
10-13	6237	96.7	4962	95.1
CAYO				
5-9	5154	85.1	3772	87.0
10-13	4935	91.0	2651	92.9
STANN CREEK				
5-9	2320	88.7	2215	88.8
10-13	2268	92.4	1561	91.9
TOLEDO				
5-9	2494	78.9	1977	83.4
10-13	2504	91.1	1347	93.2

TABLE 6.3: ENROLLMENT (BELIZE COUNTRY-14 TO 17 - 1991 & 1980)

	1991 Census		1980 Census	
Group	Total	Percent Enrolled	Total	Percent Enrolled
Total	17027	43.1	14694	29.3
Male	8513	41.3	7310	27.0
Female	8514	45.0	7384	31.7
14	4465	47.2	3872	25.2
15	4404	46.6	3687	35.0
16	4208	43.1	3618	31.8
17	3950	34.7	3517	25.5
Creole	5134	60.4	6332	38.6
Garifuna	1120	56.7	1110	35.1
Maya	1841	19.0	1223	4.5
Mestizo	7528	37.5	4824	23.8
Other	1404	31.3	1205	23.1
Urban	8090	63.0	8076	45.3
Rural	8937	25.2	6618	9.8
Belize	14873	46.1	13872	29.8
Abroad	2152	23.2	822	22.6
DK/NS	2	0.0	0	0.0
Corozal	2744	34.6	2319	19.5
Orange Walk	2870	32.4	2130	11.3
Belize	4833	62.7	5526	45.9
Cayo	3526	41.1	2297	24.8
Stann Creek	1538	37.7	1377	26.1
Toledo	1516	26.9	1045	14.4

TABLE 6.4: ENROLLMENT BY AGE GROUP (BELIZE COUNTRY -14-17 YEARS) 1991 & 1980

	1991 CENSUS		1980 CENSUS	
GROUP	TOTAL	PERCENT ENROLLED	TOTAL	PERCENT ENROLLED
TOTAL	17027	43.1	14694	29.3
CREOLE				
male	2559	54.8	3144	33.8
female	2575	65.9	3188	43.4
GARIFUNA				
male	552	51.8	549	33.2
female	568	61.4	561	36.9
MAYA				
male	925	22.9	605	5.6
female	916	15.0	618	3.4
MESTIZO				
male	3758	37.3	2417	23.2
female	3770	37.7	2407	24.3
OTHER				
male	719	29.8	595	22.0
female	685	32.9	610	24.1
URBAN				
male	3941	60.5	3909	42.3
female	4149	65.3	4167	48.2
RURAL				
male	4572	24.8	3401	9.3
female	4365	25.7	3217	10.4
BELIZE				
male	7430	44.0	6901	27.4

	1991 CENSUS		1980 CENSUS	
BELIZE				
male	7430	44.0	6901	27.4
female	7443	48.1	6971	32.1
ABROAD				
male	1081	22.5	409	19.1
female	1071	23.5	413	26.2
COROZAL				
male	1421	33.5	1183	19.5
female	1323	35.8	1136	19.5
ORANGE WALK				
male	1461	32.4	1095	11.6
female	1409	32.4	1035	11.0
BELIZE				
male	2405	56.6	2681	40.3
female	2428	68.7	2845	51.4
CAYO				
male	1669	41.0	1165	24.7
female	1857	41.3	1132	24.8
STANN CREEK				
male	800	37.8	670	25.2
female	738	37.5	707	27.0
TOLEDO				
male	757	28.7	516	14.7
female	759	25.2	529	14.0

TABLE 6.5: PERCENT COMPLETION RATES (BELIZE COUNTRY - 14+), 1991

Group	None	Primary	Secondary	Pre-University	University	Dk/Ns	Total
Total	21.9	54.3	15.5	4.0	2.9	1.4	96963
Male	22.7	53.4	14.9	3.9	3.5	3.5	49150
Female	21.1	55.2	16.1	4.2	2.2	1.3	47813
14 - 19	22.9	61.8	12.1	1.8	0.4	1.0	14541
20 - 34	18.2	53.1	19.4	5.3	2.6	1.4	42055
35 - 49	21.3	53.6	14.3	4.4	4.8	1.5	20577
50 - 64	27.6	53.6	11.1	2.7	3.7	1.4	11906
65+	33.1	49.3	10.9	2.3	2.3	2.1	7884
Creole	6.8	60.1	22.9	5.3	2.7	2.2	27958
Garifuna	5.1	68.5	16.3	5.9	2.3	2.0	6152
Maya	41.3	51.7	4.7	1.1	0.6	0.6	10255
Mestizo	29.6	50.8	13.1	3.6	2.0	0.9	43206
Other	21.3	46.4	15.7	4.4	10.2	2.1	9392
Urban	9.1	53.8	23.9	6.5	4.6	2.1	46559
Rural	33.8	54.8	7.7	1.8	1.3	0.8	50404
Belize	15.8	59.5	16.9	4.4	2.0	1.5	77661
Abroad	46.7	33.2	9.9	2.8	6.2	1.3	19255
DK/NS	31.9	19.2	4.3	2.1	0.0	42.6	47
Corozal	26.0	57.0	11.7	3.1	1.7	0.6	15216
Orange Walk	28.5	55.5	10.0	3.3	1.5	1.3	16047
Belize	6.5	55.2	25.3	6.1	4.4	2.5	29446
Cayo	28.2	50.1	13.7	3.5	3.4	1.1	18780
Stann Creek	25.5	55.7	11.5	3.5	2.4	1.4	9110
Toledo	38.3	51.2	7.0	1.7	1.3	0.4	8364

TABLE 6.6: PERCENT COMPLETION RATES BY SEX (BELIZE COUNTRY - 14+), 1991

Group	None	Primary	Secondary	Pre-University	University	Dk/Ns	Total
Total	21.9	54.3	15.5	4.0	2.9	1.4	96963
14 - 19							
Male	23.5	62.3	11.0	1.6	0.4	1.2	7253
Female	22.4	61.2	13.2	2.0	0.4	0.8	7288
20 - 34							
Male	19.4	52.6	18.4	5.3	3.0	1.5	21135
Female	16.9	53.6	20.4	5.4	2.3	1.4	20920
35 - 49							
Male	22.1	51.6	14.5	4.1	5.9	1.8	10671
Female	20.5	55.7	14.1	4.8	3.6	1.3	9906
50 - 64							
Male	27.2	52.1	11.2	2.9	4.9	1.7	6269
Female	27.9	55.3	10.9	2.5	2.3	1.1	5637
65+							
Male	34.0	47.7	10.7	2.2	3.1	2.3	3822
Female	32.3	50.7	11.0	2.4	1.5	2.0	4062
Creole							
Male	6.9	61.2	21.2	4.9	3.2	2.6	13828
Female	6.7	58.9	24.5	5.8	2.2	1.8	14130
Garifuna							
Male	5.0	66.4	17.3	6.2	3.0	2.1	2819
Female	5.2	70.3	15.5	5.6	1.6	1.8	3332
Maya							
Male	40.6	51.4	5.2	1.4	0.8	0.6	5201
Female	42.0	52.0	4.2	0.9	0.4	0.6	5054
Mestizo							
Male	30.9	49.2	12.8	3.6	2.5	1.0	22262
Female	28.3	52.4	13.5	3.5	1.4	0.9	20944
Other							
Male	21.2	44.8	15.9	4.2	11.7	2.2	5040
Female	21.4	48.2	15.4	4.6	8.5	2.0	4352

Group	None	Primary	Secondary	Pre-University	University	Dk/Ns	Total
Male	8.5	53.2	23.6	6.5	5.9	2.4	22391
Female	9.6	54.3	24.3	6.6	3.4	1.8	24168
Rural							
Male	34.6	53.5	7.7	1.8	1.5	0.9	26759
Female	32.8	56.0	7.8	1.7	1.0	0.8	23645
Belize							
Male	15.9	59.3	16.4	4.3	2.6	1.6	38553
Female	15.7	59.7	17.4	4.4	1.5	1.3	39108
Abroad							
Male	47.6	31.8	9.8	2.6	6.8	1.6	10575
Female	45.5	34.9	10.0	3.0	5.5	1.3	8680
DK/NS							
Male	31.8	36.4	9.1	0.0	0.0	22.7	22
Female	32.0	4.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	60.0	25
Corozal							
Male	26.5	56.1	11.7	3.2	1.9	0.6	7882
Female	25.3	57.9	11.7	3.0	1.5	0.6	7334
Orange Walk							
Male	28.5	54.3	10.3	3.4	2.1	1.4	8441
Female	28.4	56.9	9.5	3.2	0.9	1.1	7606
Belize							
Male	6.3	55.5	24.1	5.8	5.5	2.9	14433
Female	6.6	55.0	26.5	6.4	3.4	2.1	15013
Cayo							
Male	29.3	48.7	13.3	3.5	4.2	1.1	9371
Female	27.1	51.6	14.0	3.6	2.7	1.0	9409
Stann Creek							
Male	28.6	52.7	11.1	3.4	2.8	1.5	4777
Female	22.1	59.0	12.1	3.6	1.9	1.4	4333
Toledo							
Male	38.6	50.4	7.0	1.9	1.7	0.5	4246
Female	38.1	52.2	7.0	1.5	0.9	0.4	4118

TABLE 6.7: PERCENT COMPLETION RATES BY SEX (BELIZE COUNTRY - 14+). 1991

Group	None	Primary	Secondary	Pre-University	University	Dk/Ns	Total
Total	21.9	54.3	15.5	4.0	2.9	1.4	96963
Creole							
14-19	6.1	68.6	20.0	2.9	0.6	1.8	3365
20-34	4.5	55.3	28.5	7.1	2.4	2.2	12171
35-49	5.6	60.2	21.7	5.7	4.4	2.5	5554
50-64	9.3	66.1	15.9	3.2	3.7	1.8	3789
65+	16.0	61.9	14.3	2.9	2.1	2.7	3079
Garifuna							
14-19	3.3	73.8	16.4	4.2	0.3	2.0	691
20-34	3.7	62.1	22.9	7.4	1.9	2.1	2591
35-49	5.0	69.2	14.3	6.6	3.5	1.3	1224
50-64	5.6	78.6	6.7	3.5	3.5	2.1	892
65+	11.3	72.4	8.4	3.6	2.0	2.4	754
Maya							
14-19	31.9	62.1	4.9	0.7	0.1	0.4	2064
20-34	32.8	59.0	5.6	1.4	0.7	0.6	4119
35-49	43.5	49.4	4.2	1.2	1.0	0.6	2109
50-64	62.1	32.8	2.9	0.9	0.7	0.7	1235
65+	74.2	19.5	3.7	1.0	0.4	1.2	728
Mestizo							
14-19	28.6	58.0	10.9	1.5	0.3	0.6	6994
20-34	25.2	50.5	16.4	4.9	2.2	0.9	19398
35-49	29.3	51.7	11.4	3.7	2.9	1.0	9315
50-64	38.6	47.1	9.3	2.1	1.9	1.0	4794
65+	49.1	38.2	8.7	1.6	1.0	1.5	2705
Other							
14-19	31.2	58.0	7.7	1.1	0.6	1.5	1427
20-34	20.1	47.0	18.1	4.7	8.2	2.0	3776
35-49	15.5	41.6	17.4	6.0	17.1	2.3	2375

Group	None	Primary	Secondary	Pre-University	University	Dk/Ns	Total
50-64	21.8	42.7	14.4	4.9	14.1	2.1	1196
65+	26.7	41.6	15.1	2.6	11.2	2.9	618
Urban							
14-19	9.7	61.9	22.3	3.8	0.6	1.7	5183
20-34	6.5	48.9	29.6	8.7	4.3	2.0	20503
35-49	7.7	54.0	22.0	6.7	7.4	2.2	10122
50-64	11.8	60.4	16.3	3.9	5.5	2.0	6099
65+	19.5	56.8	14.9	3.0	3.1	2.7	4652
Rural							
14-19	30.3	61.7	6.5	0.7	0.2	0.6	9358
20-34	29.3	57.1	9.6	2.1	1.1	0.9	21552
35-49	34.5	53.2	6.9	2.2	2.3	0.9	10455
50-64	44.1	46.4	5.6	1.4	1.7	0.8	5807
65+	52.8	38.4	5.2	1.3	1.1	1.3	3232
Total	21.9	54.3	15.5	4.0	2.9	1.4	96963
Belize							
14-19	16.5	67.0	13.2	1.9	0.3	1.0	12056
20-34	11.6	57.6	21.4	6.0	2.0	1.5	33802
35-49	13.8	60.9	15.7	4.7	3.3	1.5	15428
50-64	22.6	59.1	11.7	2.7	2.6	1.5	9668
65+	30.4	52.8	11.0	2.3	1.6	1.9	6707
Abroad							
14-19	54.1	36.3	6.7	1.3	0.7	1.0	2482
20-34	45.2	34.6	10.9	2.9	5.3	1.1	8234
35-49	43.8	31.7	10.3	3.5	9.3	1.4	5141
50-64	49.1	30.0	8.5	2.8	8.5	1.1	2236
65+	49.1	29.3	10.2	2.4	6.5	2.7	1162
DK/NS							
14-19	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3

Group	None	Primary	Secondary	Pre-University	University	Dk/Ns	Total
20-34	36.8	26.3	10.5	5.3	0.0	21.1	19
35-49	25.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	8
50-64	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2
65+	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	80.0	15
Corozal							
14-19	25.0	65.3	8.3	0.8	0.2	0.3	2629
20-34	20.5	59.1	14.2	3.9	1.7	0.5	6585
35-49	25.6	55.5	11.8	3.8	2.6	0.6	3175
50-64	35.7	50.0	8.9	2.8	1.8	0.8	1795
65+	47.2	38.9	8.4	1.8	2.4	1.3	1032
Orange Walk							
14-19	27.8	61.6	8.0	1.5	0.1	1.1	2816
20-34	23.2	56.3	13.3	4.5	1.7	1.1	7022
35-49	26.5	58.2	8.1	3.4	2.2	1.5	3487
50-64	40.0	47.5	6.5	2.2	2.3	1.6	1763
65+	55.1	36.8	4.8	1.6	0.4	1.4	959
Belize							
14-19	6.0	65.1	22.5	3.9	0.7	1.9	3172
20-34	4.6	50.0	30.7	8.4	4.0	2.5	13143
35-49	5.3	54.8	24.2	5.6	7.3	2.8	6240
50-64	8.1	62.4	18.3	3.7	5.4	2.1	3880
65+	15.6	59.3	16.0	2.7	3.3	3.1	3011
Cayo							
14-19	27.9	57.4	11.8	1.5	0.6	0.9	3068
20-34	23.8	50.2	17.5	4.4	3.1	1.0	8032
35-49	28.1	48.4	11.6	4.7	6.2	1.0	4104
50-64	35.7	48.5	8.9	1.9	4.1	1.1	2215
65+	43.1	41.0	9.9	2.4	2.0	1.7	1361
Stann Creek							
14-19	28.1	58.4	9.7	1.9	0.5	1.5	1294
20-34	26.5	53.1	13.4	3.8	1.8	1.4	3822

Group	None	Primary	Secondary	Pre-University	University	Dk/Ns	Total
35-49	25.9	53.1	11.2	4.7	4.2	1.0	1851
50-64	21.9	60.6	9.0	2.8	3.9	1.7	1217
65+	21.8	61.6	10.0	2.8	1.8	1.9	926
Toledo							
14-19	31.2	60.6	7.5	0.5	0.1	0.1	1562
20-34	32.7	53.9	9.5	2.2	1.3	0.5	3451
35-49	40.1	49.4	5.6	2.2	2.2	0.5	1720
50-64	54.2	39.9	2.8	1.5	1.6	0.1	1036
65+	56.8	36.5	2.4	1.5	1.3	1.5	595

CHAPTER 7

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Introduction

The population and housing census provides benchmark data on a number of topical issues, and economic activity is one of the areas for which data are collected. Labour is a key input into the production of any good or service; hence, the analysis of the employment and unemployment indicators are of importance from an economic standpoint. Employment and unemployment also impact the livelihood and quality of life of persons and families so that there are also important social reasons for studying these indicators.

The Census provides policy makers and planners with a broad overview of employment and unemployment, but experience has shown that more detailed information relating to such measures are obtainable through a labour force survey. The 1991 Census was followed by a labour force survey in 1993, and the 1980 Census was followed by the 1983 labour force survey. The actual level of the employment and unemployment indicators from the population censuses do not always coincide with those of the labour force survey, but the overall pattern of both sets of indicators is generally similar. The differences between census indicators labour force survey indicators, relating to employment and unemployment measures, may be attributed to a number of factors such as sampling variability and changes in the economy from the time of the census to the time of the labour force survey.

This chapter explores indicators such as the working age population, labour force, employed and unemployed populations, participation rates, and unemployment rates. The differences exhibited by these indicators at the geographic level and between sub-populations will also be evaluated, as will intercensal changes in the indicators. The indicators can be instrumental in the formulation of policies for the training and development of human resources, macroeconomic planning, and the design and monitoring of employment and income generating programmes. Hence, the behaviour of the indicators into the future, the effects on policy, and their social and economic impact will be examined. Finally, Chapter 3 examined economic activities during the 12 months preceding the census. One should expect some disparity between the employment and unemployment indicators in that chapter and those in this chapter, but element of seasonality and timing will account for the differences.

Working Age Population

For the population census, the working age population refers to all persons who were at least 15 years of age at the time of the Census. In 1991 the working age population was 104,326, and represented an increase of 32.7% over the comparable figure for 1980. The rate of growth in the working age population was significantly higher than in the total population and in the population of persons under 15 years of age. The former increased by 28.4% to reach 185,970 persons in 1991, and the latter by 23.3% to equal 81,644 persons. An examination of the rate of growth in the working age population at the district level revealed that Cayo showed the highest increase (71.2%), and Belize district the lowest increase of 10.8%.

Not all members of the working age population are engaged in economic activity. Hence, the working age population is classified into two mutually exclusive groups: (1) the labour force or economically active which comprises the employed and unemployed populations, and (2) the economically inactive which comprises students, the disabled, retirees and persons engaged in home/family duties.

There are also some persons within the working age population who could not be classified into either of the two groups above. The data collected did not allow for a determination whether such persons were employed, unemployed or not economically active. This group of persons were classified into the category 'Other/Not Stated'. These categories will be examined further taking account of Tables 7.1 to 7.4.

Economically Active Population

The economically active population refers to those persons who were at least 15 years old and who were either employed or unemployed. This segment of the population is often referred to as the labour force. In 1991, the economically active population was 55,696 persons, and this was almost 35% larger than the corresponding figure for 1980. Approximately 96.3% of the labour force were employed, and 3.7% were unemployed. In 1980, the economically active numbered 41,433, and 94.6% employed, and the remaining of 5.4% were unemployed.

Employed and Unemployed by Country of Birth

The employed population was comprised of persons 15 years and over who either worked or had a job but did not work due to vacation, illness or other reasons. Of the 53,616 persons in the employed population in 1991, approximately 79% were born in Belize; and 21% were born abroad. In 1980, about 86% of the employed population were born locally. The approximately 26% increase in the employed population of locally born persons was considerably below the 106% increase for the foreign born. The employment rate for natives increased slightly from 94.1% in 1981 to 96.3% in 1991; the employment rate for the foreign born remained steady at about 97%. These data suggest that there are certain niches in which foreign born persons are employed, and if the locally born persons cannot be attracted to these, then there may be a need for a policy aimed at increasing the employment rate for locally born persons.

Not all persons who did not work during the week prior to the census were regarded as unemployed. The unemployed population comprised all persons age 15 years and over who had either sought work or were willing and available to work. There was a 7.8% decrease in the size of the unemployed population over the 1980's; the unemployed population stood at 2,080 in 1991. The unemployment rate for foreign born persons was lower than that of natives, but the gap seemed to have narrowed by 1991. In 1991, the unemployment rate was 3.9% and 3.2% for those born in Belize and abroad, respectively. In 1980, the unemployment rate was 5.9% for the Belize born population, and 2.5% for the foreign born population.

Employed and Unemployed by Relation to Head

The majority of employed persons were head of households. In 1991, the number of employed heads had increased by over 37% to reach 28,921 persons, and the employment rate for heads was about 98% in both 1991 and 1980.

The highest unemployment rate was recorded for other relatives; the rate was 7.8% and 11.6% for 1991 and 1980, respectively. The lowest unemployment rate, in 1991, was 1.2% for spouses, and in 1980, the lowest was 1.9% for heads of households.

Employed and Unemployed by Ethnicity

In 1991, the highest employment rates (at least 99%) were recorded for the Chinese, White/Caucasian and Mennonite sub-populations. In 1980, employment rates were at least 99.3% for Chinese, White and other Maya. With respect to the unemployed, the highest unemployment rates recorded were for persons of African descent. The Garifuna had the highest unemployment (7.2%) in 1991 and in 1980 (10.5%). Creoles had the second highest unemployment rate(8.1%) in 1980 compared to in 1991 (4.8%).

In 1991 there were 5,450 employed Creole females compared to 4,553 Mestizo females; however, the employment rate for Mestizo females was marginally higher (98.7%, compared to 97.7%) than their Creole counterparts. In 1980, the employment rate was 96.1% and 94.3% for Mestizo and Creole females, respectively.

In 1991, at the gender level, the lowest male unemployment rates were for Mennonites (0.1%) and Chinese (0.4%), and the highest male unemployment rates were for Garifunas (9.7%), East Indians (6.7%) and Creole (6.0%). The highest female unemployment rate was for Ketchi Mayas (5.1%), and this was followed by Other Mayans with 3.1%.

The disparity in employment and unemployment by ethnicity may be partly due to cultural reasons, but for other reasons, it is up to policy makers and planners to ensure that there is a 'level playing field' for all who wish to enter the labour market. It maybe more revealing to look at ethnic and gender differences by activity status.

Employed and Unemployed by Education

The majority of persons in the employed population had reached a primary of education. In 1991, some 31,951 persons (59.6%) of the employed population had completed a primary education, compared to 27,201 persons (69.4%) in 1980. The lowest employment rate was recorded for persons with primary level education. The rate was 96.0% and 94.1% in 1991 and 1980, respectively.

Persons with university level education exhibited the highest employment rate in both 1991 and 1980. The number of employed persons in this category stood at only 1,841 in 1991, and the associated employment rate was 99.2%. In 1980, there were 941 employed persons with university level education with a 98.6% employment rate. Table 7.13 underscores the fact that it was persons with a primary education that exhibited the highest unemployment rate, 4.0% for primary school leavers in 1991, and it was 5.9% for both primary and secondary school leavers in 1980. In both 1991 and 1980, the highest male unemployment rate was for persons with a secondary level education. The rate was 4.7% in 1991, and 6.8% in 1980. The highest female unemployment rate was 2.4%, in 1991, for those with none or nursery level education, and it was 5.9% in 1991 for those with primary level education.

Employment Status of Employed Population

In 1991, 69.9% of the employed population were paid employees, compared to 68.3% in

1980. The percent of employed persons with their own business was 20.2% and 27.4% in 1991 and 1980 respectively. Some 5.1% of the employed population were unpaid family workers, and the comparable figure for 1980 was some 2.7%.

The number of males with their own business decreased by 5.5% from 9,878 in 1980 to 9,335 in 1991. Conversely, the number of females with own business increased by 77% from 841 in 1980 to 1,489 in 1991. It is apparent that more women had gotten involved in income generating programmes, and this may be an area that planners may wish to target for creating the necessary climate and support for the continued expansion of such programmes.

Occupational Grouping of Employed Population

The occupational categories used in 1980 were based on the 1968 International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-68) that was produced by the International Labour Organization (ILO). This classification scheme was later revised to form ISCO-88. It was, therefore, the ISCO-88 that was used in 1991. As a result, there was some difficulty in comparing some occupational categories between 1980 and 1991. The employed population by occupational group and gender are highlighted in Table 7.6.

The occupational grouping was clearly different at the gender level. In both 1991 and 1980, females were dominant in professional and technical services, and clerical occupations. These occupational groups accounted for 57.7% in 1991 and 78.3% in 1980.

Employed males were dominant in agriculture and other occupations, but comparison between 1991 and 1980 has to be limited because of changes in some occupational classification. In 1991, 67.9% of employed males were in the following occupation groups, (a) Elementary Occupations (32.1%); (b) Agriculturalists (19.8%); and Craft Workers (16.0%). In 1980, two occupation groups accounted for 77.4% of employed males, and these were Agriculturalists (42.1%) and Production Workers (35.3%).

Industrial Status of Employed Population

The industrial groupings used for the 1980 census were based on the 1968 International Standard Classification of All Economic Activities (ISIC-68) that was established by the United Nations. About two decades later, the United Nations revised ISIC-68 to form ISIC-88, and it was ISIC-88 that was used to classify economic activities of the 1991 Census. Table 7.7 features the employed population by industry group and gender.

The most dominant industrial sector, in both 1991 and 1980, was the agriculture, forestry and fishing sector. This sector was responsible for employing 17,113 persons or 31.9% of the employed population in 1991, compared to 14,517 persons or some 37.1% of the employed population in 1980.

At the gender level, some 40.6% and 44.4% of employed males were in agriculture, forestry and fishing in 1991 and 1980 respectively. Females, on the other hand, were predominantly in services such as education and health, community and other services in both 1980 and 1991. The slight revision in classification presents some difficulties of comparison between 1980 and 1991.

Employed Population by Number of Hours Worked

In 1980, 25,479 persons or 65% of the employed population worked between 40 to 54 hours per week; in 1991, the figure stood at 30,639 or 57.1% of the employed population. There was also

a significant increase in persons in the not stated category. The increase was from 186 or 0.5% of the employed population in 1980 to 5,899 or 11.0% of the employed population in 1991. Persons in the 'none' category would be employed but would not have been at work, due to vacation or sick leave, during the week prior to the census.

Employed Population by Level of Dependency on Tourism

By 1991, there was a recognition in Belize and the rest of the Caribbean that tourism was making a very significant contribution to the economies of the region. To this end, employed persons at the time of the 1991 census were asked to indicate their perception of the level of dependence, if any, of their job on tourism. Table 7.9 shows the response to the question.

There were 3,161 persons (5.9% of the employed population) who thought that their job was completely dependent on tourism. Another 6,789 (12.7%) employed persons took the view that their job was partially dependent on tourism. Thus, 18.6% of the employed population were of the view that their job was either completely or partially dependent on tourism; 12.8% of these were from urban areas, and the remaining 5.8% were from rural areas.

Employed Population by Income

Table 7.8 shows the employed population by monthly income, gender and urban/rural residence. In 1991, employed persons were asked about the level of gross income received from being employed. Out of an employed population of 53,616 persons, 2,731 or 5.1% were unpaid workers; 36,888 or 68.8% responded positively; and the remaining 13,997 (26.1%) did not respond to the question on income. A proportion of those in this last category would have been engaged in activities such as subsistence farming and piece-work, and as such, they found it difficult to relate any income to a specified time frame.

For the 36,888 persons that income data was available for, the mean monthly income was $625; the mean monthly income was $635 and $605 for males and females, respectively. The census data suggest that urban/rural considerations were more likely to have a substantial effect on income than gender considerations. Hence, the mean income in urban areas was $745, compared to $510 in rural areas.

Employed Population by Mode of Travel to Work

In 1991, employed persons were asked about their mode of travel to their place of work. It was found that 19,447,(36.3%) of the employed population walked, 10,648 (19.9%) traveled by private vehicle, 7,569 (14.1%) traveled by bicycle, and 5,567 (10.4%) worked at home. About 50% of females walked to work, and the corresponding percentage for males was 32.1%. Some 17.5% of males, as compared 3.5% of females, went to work on bicycle. Possible policy considerations may be the development and improvement of 'walk-ways' and pedestrian crossings to increase safety.

Unemployment Rate

There were 2,080 persons in the unemployed population in 1991, compared to 2,255 in 1980. These figures correspond to an unemployment rate of 3.7% and 5.4% in 1991 and 1980 respectively.

Unemployment rates at the district and gender level are in Table 7.12. In both 1991 and 1980, the highest unemployment rate was recorded in Stann Creek; the rate was 5.0% in 1991, compared

to 8.3% in 1980. The lowest unemployment rates were recorded in Orange Walk; the rate there was 2.2% in 1991, and 2.0% in 1980.

The unemployment rate was higher for males vis-a-vis their female counterparts. Male unemployment rates were 4.0% and 5.5% in 1991 and 1980, respectively; female unemployment rates were 1.9% in 1991, compared to 5.2% in 1980.

It should be pointed out that unemployment rates were recorded at much higher levels by the labour Force Surveys. The unemployment rate based on the 1993 Survey was recorded at 9.8%. For the 1983 Survey, the unemployment rate was at 14%. However, even though the census rates were lower, they displayed similar patterns to those of the Labour Force Surveys.

Participation Rate

The participation rate measures the extent to which members of the working age population are prepared to devote part of their time to economic activity. It is obtained by expressing the labour force as a percent of the working age population.

Participation rates by district and gender are shown in Table 7.14. The participation rate in 1991 was 53.4%; 81.1%for males and 25.1% females. In 1980, the participation rate was 52.7% with males for 83.3% and 21.7% for females. There was clearly an increase in the participation of females in labour force activities; and this is an area that should be promoted further, and appropriate training programmes could assist in this regard.

The Belize district had the highest participation rate (56.6%) in 1991, and Toledo had the lowest (48.6%). In 1980, the Corozal district had the highest rate of 53.9%, and Toledo had the lowest 47.3%. Male participation rates were highest in the northern districts arising from the activities in the sugarcane industry.

Economically Inactive Population

The economically inactive population is that segment of those that were age 15 years and over and who were classifiable as students, disabled, retirees or engaging in family duties. There were 47,050 such persons in 1991, compared to 29,185 in 1980. Details of the economically inactive population by age and gender are shown in Table 7.15. In both 1991 and 1980, females were most dominant in home/family duties, and the category with the least number of females was the retired category. Also, most males in the economically inactive category were attending school in both 1991 and 1980. Male representation was least in the disabled category in 1991 and in home/family duties in 1980.

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the main findings relating to employment, unemployment and other labour force characteristics in 1980 and 1991. The importance of these observations is due to their implications for both economic and social policies. One of the main observations cited in the chapter was the increased number of females in the labour market.

While the overall participation rate remained constant at about 53% from 1980 to 1991, there was a significant increase in the number of females that were willing and able to engage in some form of economic activity. The participation rate for females increased from 21.7% in 1980 to 25.1% in 1991. Most of this increase was due to increased activity among urban females. The impact of

females on the workplace is clearly demonstrated by the shift in employment at the industry level. The employment level in agriculture, forestry and fishing increased by 17.9% over the 1980's. Employment in the manufacturing sector was up by 30.8%, and it was up by 45.9% in the services sector. Policy makers and planners are faced with the challenge of setting in place training schemes and other mechanisms to, (1) encourage more females to become economically active, and (2) ensure that female participation takes place across a wider range of economic sectors.

Finally, it needs to be emphasized that the concept of unemployment does not encompass all persons who do not have a job. It refers to all persons who were at least 15 years old, who did not have a job during the week prior to the census, but were willing and able to work. The low unemployment rate may have underscored the existence of high levels of underemployment. This underemployment would manifest itself by a mismatch between employment skills and income, poor quality of employment, and insufficient volume of work for those in employment. These issues would merit some further investigation during intercensal years.

Table 7.1: Working Age Population by Economic Activity Past week, District and Gender, 1991 Census

District	Working age Population	Employed	Unemployed	Economically Inactive	Other/ Not Stated
BOTH SEXES					
TOTAL (=100%)	104,326	53,616	2,080	47,050	1,580
Corozal	15.4	15.0	9.4	16.5	4.7
Orange Walk	16.1	16.2	10.1	16.4	11.1
Belize	31.8	33.6	39.7	28.8	50.3
Cayo	19.3	19.0	20.1	19.6	17.7
Stann Creek	9.2	8.8	13.0	9.5	11.9
Toledo	8.2	7.5	7.6	9.2	4.3
MALE					
TOTAL	50.5	76.3	87.6	18.5	77.2
Corozal	8.0	12.8	8.4	2.6	3.8
Orange Walk	8.5	13.8	9.5	2.4	9.2
Belize	15.4	21.6	32.8	6.8	37.8
Cayo	9.6	14.4	18.0	3.7	12.9
Stann Creek	4.8	7.1	11.9	1.8	9.7
Toledo	4.2	6.7	7.0	1.3	3.9
FEMALE					
TOTAL	49.5	23.7	12.4	81.5	22.8
Corozal	7.4	2.2	1.1	13.9	0.9
Orange Walk	7.6	2.4	0.7	14.1	1.9
Belize	16.4	12.0	6.9	22.1	12.5
Cayo	9.7	4.6	2.1	15.9	4.8
Stann Creek	4.4	1.7	1.1	7.6	2.2
Toledo	4.0	0.8	0.6	7.9	0.4

Table 7.2: Working Age Population by Economic Activity Past week, District and Gender, 1980 Census

District	Working age Population	Employed	Unemployed	Economically Inactive	Other/ Not Stated
BOTH SEXES					
TOTAL (=100%)	78,615	39,178	2,255	31,622	5,560
Corozal	15.4	16.2	7.7	15.4	13.0
Orange Walk	14.9	15.7	5.5	16.1	6.0
Belize	38.1	37.2	56.9	35.2	53.2
Cayo	14.9	15.1	12.0	15.7	10.9
Stann Creek	9.5	9.2	14.4	9.3	10.8
Toledo	7.1	6.6	3.5	8.3	6.1
MALE					
TOTAL	50.4	79.5	80.6	15.3	31.9
Corozal	8.3	14.4	7.4	1.6	3.2
Orange Walk	8.0	14.4	4.4	1.4	2.2
Belize	18.4	25.7	44.8	7.7	17.1
Cayo	7.5	12.2	9.8	2.1	4.2
Stann Creek	4.7	7.0	11.0	1.6	3.2
Toledo	3.5	5.8	3.2	1.0	2.1
FEMALE					
TOTAL	49.6	20.5	19.4	84.7	68.1
Corozal	7.2	1.8	0.4	13.8	9.8
Orange Walk	6.9	1.4	1.1	14.7	3.8
Belize	19.7	11.4	12.1	27.5	36.1
Cayo	7.4	2.9	2.3	13.5	6.7
Stann Creek	4.8	2.2	3.4	7.8	7.6
Toledo	3.6	0.7	0.3	7.3	4.0

Table 7.3: Working Age Population by Country of Birth, Economic Activity During Past Week and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Working Age Population	**TOTAL**	**Belize**	**Abroad**	**TOTAL**	**Belize**	**Abroad**
BOTH SEXES						
TOTAL (=100%)	104,326	84,517	19,809	78,615	68,539	10,076
Employed	51.4	50.2	56.5	49.8	49.2	54.0
Unemployed	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.9	3.1	1.4
Economically Inactive	45.1	46.2	40.3	37.1	37.6	34.0
Other / Not stated	1.5	1.6	1.4	10.2	10.1	10.5
MALE						
TOTAL (=100%)	52,667	41,811	10,856	39,602	33,925	5,677
Employed	77.7	75.6	85.8	78.7	78.2	81.6
Unemployed	3.5	3.6	3.0	4.6	5.0	1.9
Economically Inactive	16.5	18.4	9.3	6.1	6.2	5.8
Other / Not stated	2.3	2.4	1.9	10.6	10.6	10.7
FEMALE						
TOTAL (=100%)	51,659	42,706	8,953	39,013	34,614	4,399
Employed	24.6	25.4	20.9	20.6	20.8	118.4
Unemployed	0.5	0.5	0.4	1.1	1.2	0.8
Economically Inactive	74.2	73.4	77.9	68.6	68.4	70.5
Other / Not stated	0.7	0.7	0.7	9.7	9.6	10.3

Table 7.4: Working Age Population by Urban/Rural, Economic Activity During Past Week and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Working Age Population	TOTAL	Urban	Rural	TOTAL	Urban	Rural
BOTH SEXES						
TOTAL (=100%)	104,326	52,436	51,890	78,615	43,044	35,571
Employed	51.4	51.9	50.9	49.8	47.8	52.4
Unemployed	2.0	2.4	1.6	2.9	3.8	1.8
Economically Inactive	45.1	43.6	46.6	37.1	34.7	40.1
Other / Not stated	1.5	2.1	0.9	10.2	13.8	5.8
MALE						
TOTAL (=100%)	52,667	25,053	27,614	39,602	20,398	19,204
Employed	77.7	71.4	83.4	78.7	71.0	86.9
Unemployed	3.5	4.4	2.6	4.6	6.4	2.7
Economically Inactive	16.5	20.9	12.6	6.1	7.1	5.0
Other / Not stated	2.3	3.3	1.4	10.6	15.5	5.5
FEMALE						
TOTAL (=100%)	51,659	42,706	8,953	39,013	34,614	4,399
Employed	24.6	34.0	14.0	20.6	26.8	11.9
Unemployed	0.5	0.6	0.4	1.1	1.4	0.7
Economically Inactive	74.2	64.4	85.3	68.6	59.4	81.3
Other / Not stated	0.7	1.1	0.3	9.7	12.3	6.1

Table 7.5: Employment Rate by Age, Country of Birth and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Age	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
COUNTRY TOTAL						
Total	96.5	96.0	98.1	94.6	94.5	94.8
15-19	91.6	90.0	94.0	85.7	85.6	86.0
20-44	97.0	96.5	98.6	96.1	95.9	97.1
45-64	97.9	97.6	99.3	97.8	97.6	98.8
65+	98.1	98.0	98.8	97.5	97.7	96.5
Not Stated	-	-	-	88.5	88.3	88.6
BELIZE BORN						
Total	96.3	95.7	98.1	94.1	94.0	94.7
15-19	91.2	90.4	94.0	85.0	84.8	85.8
20-44	96.9	96.3	98.6	95.8	95.5	97.0
45-64	97.9	97.5	99.4	97.7	97.5	99.0
65+	98.2	98.0	99.1	97.5	97.7	96.5
Not Stated	-	-	-	89.6	87.7	92.3
FOREIGN BORN						
Total	97.1	96.9	98.0	97.5	97.7	96.1
15-19	93.5	93.3	94.4	94.4	95.8	88.8
20-44	97.4	97.1	98.6	97.8	97.8	97.9
45-64	98.0	97.9	98.9	98.4	98.5	98.1
65+	97.5	97.6	97.0	97.7	97.9	96.3
Not Stated	-	-	-	86.0	90.0	81.5

Table 7.6: Employed Population During Past Week by Occupational Group and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Occupational Group	**TOTAL**	**Male**	**Female**	**TOTAL**	**Male**	**Female**
TOTAL (=100%)	53,616	40,910	12,706	39,178	31,158	8,020
Managers & Legislators	5.9	5.3	7.9	0.6	0.7	0.4
Professional & Technical	11.8	8.3	23.1	9.2	5.6	23.5
Clerical	6.0	2.4	17.6	7.3	4.8	17.3
Service Workers	9.2	6.7	17.0	16.9	11.6	37.5
Agriculturalists	15.4	19.8	1.3	34.8	42.1	6.4
Craft Workers	13.5	16.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Plant Operators	8.0	9.3	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Production Workers	0.0	0.0	0.0	31.1	35.3	14.9
Elementary Occupations	30.1	32.1	23.8	0.0	0.0	0.0

Table 7.7: Employed Population During Past Week by Industry Group and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Industry Group	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
TOTAL (=100%)	53,616	40,910	12,706	39,178	31,158	8,020
Agriculture/Forestry/	31.9	40.6	3.9	37.1	44.4	8.6
Mining & Quarrying	0.6	0.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
Manufacturing	9.8	9.0	12.2	10.2	9.6	12.9
Electricity & Water	1.3	1.4	0.8	1.5	1.7	0.9
Construction	6.5	8.4	0.3	4.2	5.2	0.5
Wholesale & Retail	12.1	10.8	16.6	6.7	5.6	11.3
Hotels & Restaurants	4.4	2.6	10.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transport/Communications	5.0	5.6	3.2	4.3	4.9	1.8
Finance & Real Estate	3.0	2.3	5.1	1.0	0.6	2.5
Public Administration	9.2	9.1	9.3	11.8	12.4	9.3
Education & Health	7.4	3.4	20.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Community Services	2.5	2.3	3.2	7.3	3.3	23.0
Other Services	4.5	2.1	12.3	13.2	10.4	24.1
Not Stated	1.9	1.7	2.5	2.6	1.9	5.1

Table 7.8: Employed Population During Past Week by Monthly Income, Area and Gender, 1991

	URBAN			RURAL		
Monthly Income Group	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
Under $119	326	165	161	912	765	147
120 - 239	1037	407	630	2080	1607	473
240 359	2319	1084	1235	3693	3098	595
360 - 479	2678	1688	990	4299	3924	375
480 - 599	2798	1954	844	2859	2497	362
600 - 719	2394	1681	713	1688	1462	226
720 - 839	1542	1092	450	807	687	120
840 - 959	1108	757	351	486	412	74
960 - 1079	1055	695	360	433	368	65
1080 - 1199	601	361	240	257	207	50
1200 - 1319	671	457	214	264	240	24
1320 - 1439	318	219	99	112	98	14
1440 - 1559	230	150	80	96	83	13
1560 - 1679	238	168	70	71	57	14
1680 - 1799	186	125	61	52	46	6
1800 - 1919	151	105	46	29	22	7
1920 - 2039	185	137	48	52	46	6
$2,040 & over	639	505	134	222	200	22
Sub-Total	18476	11750	6726	18412	15819	2593
Mean Income	$745	$795	$655	$510	$515	$480
Median Income	$605	$640	$530	$430	$435	$385
Don't Know/Not stated	8,732	6,155	2,577	7,996	7,186	810
GRAND TOTAL	27,208	17,905	9,303	26,408	23,005	3,403

Table 7.9: Employed Population by Level of Tourism Dependence - Urban/Rural and Gender, 1991

Level of Tourism Dependence	TOTAL	Male	Female
COUNTRY TOTAL			
TOTAL (=100%)	53,616	40,910	12,706
Completely dependent	5.9	5.3	7.7
Partially dependent	12.7	11.7	15.9
Not dependent at all	78.5	80.2	73.1
Don't know /Not stated	3.0	2.8	3.4
URBAN			
Total	50.7	43.8	73.2
Completely dependent	4.1	3.5	6.1
Partially dependent	8.7	7.6	12.4
Not dependent at all	36.5	31.5	52.6
Don't know/Not stated	1.5	1.2	2.2
RURAL			
Total	49.3	56.2	26.8
Completely dependent	1.8	1.8	1.6
Partially dependent	4.0	4.1	3.5
Not dependent at all	42.0	48.7	20.5
Don't know/Not stated	1.5	1.6	1.2

Table 7.10: Unemployment Rate by Age, Country of Birth and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Age	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
COUNTRY TOTAL						
TOTAL	3.7	4.3	2.0	5.4	5.5	5.2
15-19	8.4	9.1	6.0	14.3	14.4	14.0
20-44	3.0	3.5	1.4	3.9	4.1	2.9
45-64	2.1	2.4	0.7	2.2	2.4	1.2
65+	1.9	2.0	1.2	2.5	2.3	3.5
Not Stated	-	-	-	11.5	11.7	11.4
BELIZE BORN						
TOTAL	3.9	4.5	2.0	5.9	6.0	5.3
15-19	8.8	9.6	6.0	15.0	15.2	14.2
20-44	3.1	3.7	1.4	4.2	4.5	3.0
45-64	2.1	2.5	0.6	2.3	2.5	1.0
65+	1.8	2.0	0.9	2.5	2.3	3.5
Not Stated	-	-	-	10.4	12.3	7.7
FOREIGN BORN						
TOTAL	3.2	3.4	2.0	2.5	2.3	3.9
15-19	6.5	6.7	5.6	5.6	4.2	11.2
20-44	2.6	2.9	1.4	2.2	2.2	2.1
45-64	2.0	2.1	1.1	1.6	1.5	1.9
65+	2.5	2.4	3.0	2.3	2.1	3.7
Not Stated	-	-	-	14.0	10.0	18.5

Table 7.11: Unemployment Rate by Ethnicity, and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Ethnicity	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
TOTAL	3.7	4.3	2.0	5.4	5.5	5.2
Creole	4.8	6.0	2.3	8.1	9.0	5.7
East Indian	5.5	6.7	1.9	5.0	5.1	4.7
Chinese	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ketchi Maya	1.5	1.3	5.1	2.1	0.8	3.4
Other Maya	2.1	2.0	3.1	0.7	2.1	0.0
Garifuna	7.2	9.7	2.0	10.5	11.7	7.5
White/Caucasian	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6	0.5	1.0
Mennonite	0.2	0.1	0.6	-	-	-
Mestizo	2.6	2.9	1.3	2.8	2.6	3.9
Other	3.5	4.0	2.0	2.7	2.6	3.2
Not Stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.5	8.1	6.3

Table 7.12: Unemployment Rate Based on Economic Activity Past Week by Area and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Area	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
COUNTRY TOTAL	3.7	4.3	2.0	5.4	5.5	5.2
URBAN	4.5	5.8	1.8	7.4	8.3	5.1
RURAL	3.0	3.0	2.5	3.2	3.0	5.5
Corozal	2.4	2.5	1.8	2.7	2.9	1.1
Orange Walk	2.4	2.6	1.1	2.0	1.7	4.2
Belize	4.4	5.6	2.2	8.1	9.1	5.7
Cayo	3.9	4.6	1.7	4.4	4.4	4.3
Stann Creek	5.4	6.1	2.4	8.3	8.3	8.2
Toledo	3.8	3.9	2.6	3.0	3.1	2.3

Table 7.13: Unemployment Rate Based on Economic Activity Past Week by Highest Level of Education and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Highest Education	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
TOTAL	3.7	4.3	2.0	5.4	5.5	5.2
None/Nursery	2.2	2.2	2.4	1.7	1.6	4.0
Primary	4.0	4.3	2.3	5.9	5.9	5.9
Secondary	3.6	4.7	1.8	5.9	6.8	4.6
Post Secondary	1.9	2.7	1.1	4.8	4.9	4.8
University	0.8	0.9	0.5	1.4	1.3	1.4
Other/Not stated	20.6	23.4	9.2	4.5	4.9	3.8

Table 7.14: Participation Rate Based on Economic Activity Past Week by Area and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Area	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female
COUNTRY TOTAL	53.4	81.1	25.1	52.7	83.3	21.7
URBAN	54.3	75.8	34.6	51.5	77.4	28.3
RURAL	52.5	86.0	14.4	54.1	89.5	12.5
Corozal	51.2	84.5	15.4	53.9	89.6	12.7
Orange Walk	52.8	85.6	16.1	53.7	91.2	10.4
Belize	56.6	76.3	38.2	52.9	76.6	30.7
Cayo	52.6	80.2	25.0	52.7	84.5	20.5
Stann Creek	51.6	79.6	20.8	52.5	81.7	24.4
Toledo	48.6	84.5	11.0	47.3	84.9	10.5

Table 7.15: Economically Inactive Population During Past Week by Country of Birth and Gender, 1991 and 1980

	1991			1980		
Economically Inactive	TOTAL	Belize	Abroad	TOTAL	Belize	Abroad
BOTH SEXES						
TOTAL (=100%)	46,811	38,799	8,012	29,108	25,753	3,355
Home Duties	73.9	71.8	84.3	87.5	87.6	86.8
Attended School	17.0	18.9	7.9	1.0	1.0	0.8
Retired	4.6	4.5	4.8	4.6	4.6	5.3
Disabled	4.6	4.9	3.1	6.8	6.8	7.1
MALE						
TOTAL	18.5	19.7	12.6	8.3	8.1	9.6
Home Duties	4.0	4.2	3.0	0.8	0.9	0.8
Attended School	8.2	9.1	3.9	0.5	0.5	0.4
Retired	3.5	3.5	3.6	3.1	3.0	4.0
Disabled	2.7	2.9	2.1	3.8	3.7	4.4
FEMALE						
TOTAL	81.5	80.3	87.4	91.7	91.9	90.4
Home Duties	69.9	67.6	81.3	86.7	86.8	86.1
Attended School	8.8	9.7	4.0	0.5	0.5	0.4
Retired	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.5	1.5	1.3
Disabled	1.8	2.0	1.0	3.0	3.1	2.7

CHAPTER 8

HOUSING

Introduction

The 1980 census identified 27,544 dwelling units. By 1991 this figure had increased by 38% to 37,944. This gives an annual growth rate of 2.9%.

Characteristics of the Housing Stock

Many aspects of housing, including physical characteristics and type of tenure, are directly related to residence in urban and rural areas. Differences in housing needs in these areas (smaller families, more single-person households, or short-term residence in urban areas) and the higher cost of housing, are factors that would explain the predominance of rental units and apartments.

The most common type of dwelling unit in Belize is the undivided private dwelling, averaging 80% for both census years. It is more prevalent in rural than urban areas. Belize City is the only subdivision somewhat different from the others. Its urban character results in a wide variety of dwelling types. All other towns in the country seem to lack this characteristic, although district towns have a small share of apartments. San Pedro Town, a tourist resort, has the highest percent of apartments.. Workers in the tourist industry in San Pedro, many of whom come from the mainland, reside in hotels or boarding units.

Between 1980 and 1991, 15,907 new houses were built, an average of four units were built per day over the eleven-year intercensal period. However, 5,507 units were destroyed. This gives an increase of 10,400 new dwelling units. The greatest increase in the number of dwelling units between 1980 and 1991 has taken place in the twin towns of San Ignacio and Santa Elena, Benque Viejo and rural Cayo; 81%, 61% and 85%, respectively. The influx of Central American immigrants and refugees account for most of this increase. While Toledo district and rural Stann Creek saw an increase of more than 50 % in the number of dwelling units, Dangriga only increased by 5 %. Overall the number of units rose by 38 %.

Variation in the age of housing within the country may result from many factors. Some important ones are; historical differences in the period of settlement of areas; internal and international migration, differences in the durability of the construction materials; destruction of existing housing by natural calamities; and differences in population growth with some areas having expanding populations and others shrinking numbers.

The age of buildings can be an important indicator of the quality of the housing stock; however, individual variations do exist, e.g. a well-maintained house that is 30 years old may be in better condition than a poorly built or maintained 10 year old house. In addition, the main construction materials may not be so durable.

Belize City still shows signs of the colonial days. One way in which this is reflected is the age of its buildings. A mere 42 % were built before 1970. This number is decreasing as more buildings are broken down and replaced by new ones, usually of much better quality. Among the other subdivisions of the country, no period predominates. A large number of persons were not able

to state the year the dwelling they occupy was built. Age of the building is most likely to go unreported by renters, and private rented housing is generally older than other types of housing. Overall, dwellings in urban areas are generally older than those in rural areas.

Type of ownership can be interpreted as an indicator of the likelihood of the housing stock being maintained. It is assumed that owner-occupiers are more likely to keep their houses in good condition. Rented dwellings are less likely to be maintained either by landlords or renters. Government-rented housing is important as an indicator of Government effort to improve the supply of housing.

The undivided separate unit is, in general, privately owned. All other types of dwelling units are more likely to be privately rented or rent-free. Especially this latter type of tenure is more common in rural areas. It can be associated with commercial enterprises (banana and citrus) providing free housing to their employees. Belize City has a high percent of private-rented dwellings. This has already been mentioned as one of its urban characteristics. This City has more employment and educational opportunities than anywhere in the country. People from "out-district" will rent a house or apartment if they want to live in Belize City. Few existing houses are ever for sale. Most people acquire a house of their own through either building, buying a new house or inheritance.

The urban Cayo area, more specifically Belmopan, has a large number of dwellings that are hire-purchased. These are houses built by the Government and rented to civilians for a certain period after which the house is paid off and the occupant owns the house. Belmopan, however, saw a decline in the number of owned houses. Many people who acquired a house in the initial stage of development of Belmopan are now renting out their properties. Some of them have returned to their place of birth. Others have built a house of their own - sometimes outside of Belmopan. There still seems to be a slight resistance of people to settle in this small capital. Many public officers commute from Belize City or San Ignacio and do not intend to settle in Belmopan. Overall, there are only few Government-rented units in the country.

Owning a house is often considered a sign of wealth. In Belize, however, due to the availability and easy access to land, building a house is often cheaper than paying rent every month. With shared effort a house made of wood is easily set up. A dirt floor and a thatched roof finishes a house. Afterwards it will be rather easy to make improvements on the house with, e.g. a zinc roof or cement floor.

The majority of dwelling units that are owned are built on land that is either owned or leased, generally from the Government or a City Council. There is not much disparity between the different districts and subdivisions. Only the percent of leased land is somewhat higher in rural areas. This result in an almost equal share of owned and leased land in those parts of the country. The Toledo rural area has 8 % of land that people are allowed to work on and 18 % of other land types.

It is important to have information about the materials used for the construction of houses. This is relevant for planning regarding the supply and demand of locally produced and imported housing materials. It also, furthermore, the quality of the housing stock, it measures the vulnerability of buildings. This is particularly important in this part of the world with its constant exposure to hurricanes.

Wood is generally less durable than concrete, stone or brick. However, the ranking of wood compared to other materials is less justified because a well-maintained wooden building may be in

better condition than a poorly maintained concrete building of the same age. Wood has remained the dominant type of material used for the outer walls of dwellings over the years. Since Belize has a plentiful local supply of building lumber it is not surprising that wood dominates. However, concrete seems to be taking over this leading position. A substantial amount of new houses built have concrete walls. From observation it appears that many people who live in a wooden house at present - a house that is probably in much need of repair - are building houses of concrete. These are built either on the premises or on newly acquired land. The completion of such a house could take several years, since people prefer to build with available resources instead of borrowing from a bank or other money-lending agency. The trend towards buildings with concrete walls, that are stronger and more durable than wood, is very likely to continue.

The opposite, however seems to occur in the rural Cayo and Toledo areas where the Mestizo (many of them recent refugees) and Maya population resides. Their cultural preference is towards houses with wooden walls. Although probably the most important factor is that the cost of a concrete house is many times higher than a wooden walled house. Refugees arrive with little or no money and are only able to build or occupy a house with the cheapest available material. There is a remarkable distinction, however, between the wooden houses of the Maya and the Mestizos. The latter prefer horizontal boards while the Mayas use sticks that are placed vertically. Rural Orange Walk has 14 % of its houses made with stucco walls, i.e. plaster over wood, and the rural Corozal area has walls made of makeshift. All of these can be seen as cultural characteristics of the residing population in those areas.

All areas, except rural Toledo, have zinc-roofed houses, although most rural areas show a significant amount of houses with thatched roofs. Zinc is a solid, leak-proof (if installed properly), durable and relatively cheap form of roofing. A thatched roof, on the other hand, has to be refurbished regularly.

Wood and cement are the main types of material used for floors. Wood is more prevalent in the Belize and Stann Creek districts. Rural Toledo, has a different pattern. The majority of households live on a dirt floor. Even though this type of flooring can also be found in other rural areas, it is nowhere so prevalent as in this part of the country.

Availability of Household Facilities

Access to the two basic household amenities, pure water and sewage removal, are very important factors in the quality of life. While public provision of pure water and sewer facilities to all households is a long run goal, it is mainly a lack of Government funds which limits providing these services. An understanding of the availability of both services is important because their absence has many implications for the quality of health and for the provision of health care. Where either of these amenities are not available, infectious diseases are more likely to be easily spread and more resources must be devoted to the prevention of such diseases.

In general, water supplied by the Government is of good quality, and except in unusual conditions, e.g. drought or flood, the public sources of water, whether piped into the yard, house or from a public standpipe, provide pure and potable water. Convenience differs greatly depending on whether the water is piped right into the dwelling or whether it has to be fetched from a central standpipe. In addition, the possibility of contaminating water before it is used is greater when it has to be carried from a standpipe.

Variation within the country in access to piped water is dependent on many factors. Among these are; the density of settlement that makes piping more or less economically feasible, geographic factors that determine the availability of water, Government provision of the basic infrastructure and the ability of households to pay for the costs of piping and the running costs of water. Urban areas are usually better served than rural areas, as is the case in Belize. The two northern towns, however, have shifted from public water that was piped into the yard to private catchments. These being urban areas it can be assumed that this is rainwater. In 1980 half of the rural households got their drinking water from other sources, including rivers and streams. This percent has declined substantially in the intercensal period to 28 %. They have mainly switched to public wells and tanks, and to a lesser extent private catchments. If a private tank is kept properly, cleaned and closed, this form of water supply can be safe, since rainwater in Belize has not yet been affected by pollution. People often seem to prefer rainwater above chlorinated public water.

The W.C. is generally felt to be the best or most sanitary form of toilet facility. While its advantage, in terms of convenience, is obvious the health advantage of W.C.'s is dependent on having a well-maintained disposal system. Both the septic tank and then pit-latrine are inconvenient relative to W.C.'s, but can be a reasonable sanitary means of disposal if it is well built and maintained. Regional variation in type of toilet facilities is dependent on some of the same factors as water supply. Population density determines whether it is economical to have a sewer system, the availability of Government resources and the existence of a favourable policy determines whether the infrastructure will be built, and household income influences the relative afford ability of the more expensive W.C., the cheaper pit-latrine or no facility at all. Also, since W.C.'s consume high amounts of water and need water piped at least into the yard, a cheap and plentiful piped water supply is a basic premise for the W.C. type of toilet.

The most alarming feature is that even in 1991 there are an astonishing 41 % of households in rural Toledo without any type of excreta disposal. This proportion has decreased, but in terms of absolute number there was a slight increase.

W.C.'s linked to a sewer system are only available in Belmopan and, to a lesser extent, Belize City. In urban areas most households have access to a septic tank. Rural parts of Belize are mainly equipped with pit-latrines. These latter facilities are located outside the dwelling, in the back of the yard.

Sharing of toilet facilities happens to about 10 % of households nationwide, with extremes in Orange Walk Town and rural Stann Creek. The latter has areas where citrus is grown, labourers live in barracks or single rooms that share toilet facilities.

The type of lighting available in homes and the type of cooking fuel used are also indicators of variations in the standard of living. Access to electricity is particularly important, and affects not only the quality of life for individuals in their homes, but also increases the possibilities of providing other services in the community. Apart from differences in convenience and cost to the individual household, the type of cooking fuel has implications at the national level in terms of the demand for imported materials (kerosene), and the use of possibly scarce natural resources, e.g. wood.

Electricity, which is the most modern type of lighting, is generally considered the better source of lighting; because it is cleaner and safer, as well as providing better lighting. As such, it is an indicator of a higher standard of living. Nevertheless, dependence on kerosene lighting is more

likely to result from lack of access to electricity than from choice or inability to pay for the service.

Electricity was the main source of lighting in 1980 and over the intercensal period this position has strengthened, due in part to the efforts of Government to provide electricity to as many villages as possible. Only the remote rural Toledo is still behind and even though the number of households with electricity has increased, the majority of rural areas in the country still use kerosene for lighting.

Gas is generally considered the most modern and most desirable type of cooking fuel. Wood or charcoal are the traditional and locally available sources, while kerosene is probably ranked as intermediate in terms of desirability and in terms of standard of living.

The distinction between urban and rural areas has been noted several times so far in this chapter. Only the Belize rural areas are a little out of order. This is because there are two rather sizeable villages that are located quite close to Belize City and that show some urban characteristics. It has often been argued that Ladyville, one of these villages just outside Belize City, is more a suburb of Belize City than a rural village. Gas is mainly used in the urban areas, while the rural areas rely on wood and coal.

Urban and rural areas show a different pattern when it comes to the position of the kitchen. In rural areas outdoor kitchens are in 27% of the households, while in the towns this percent is only seven. Outdoor kitchens are also more likely to be shared than indoor kitchens.

An interesting feature to note is that in the northern rural areas kitchens seem to be outside more often than elsewhere. Since these two regions have a high percent of Mestizo population, it can be argued that this is probably a cultural phenomenon.

Size of House and Household

An important characteristic of housing is size, both in terms of the number of rooms in the physical unit, and in terms of the number of persons living in the household. With these two basic pieces of information the density of housing can be estimated, as the ratio of persons to rooms. The density ratio gives an estimate of the level of overcrowding or the level of inadequacy of available housing, measured against some generally accepted yardstick of what is considered an adequate ratio. In addition to the overall density ratio, the percent distribution of the population and of households according to the number of persons per room are also useful indicators of density.

In counting household rooms, the general rule followed was to exclude bathrooms, toilets, kitchens, pantries, verandahs, porches etc., but to include rooms in outbuildings used by servants and others - only rooms actually used for living purposes were included in the count.

The ability to live 'outside' is much greater in rural areas where there is space and clean air to perform tasks such as entertaining or preparing food and data has shown that these homes tend to have fewer rooms than their urban counterparts (generally, urban houses are one room larger). About 50% of the rural houses have less than two rooms with 13 % (1980) and 10 % (1991) only having one room to live in. Although the data show a decrease in one room houses, this number is considered quite high, especially if it appears that whole, or even extended, families live in just one room. One has to bear in mind, however, that a house with only one room could be of such size that it is very easy to have separate parts of the room for sleeping and cooking. As such, the number of rooms as an indicator of development can be questioned. The size of the rooms can be very

important in this matter. Certain cultures prefer one big room, that could be larger in size than a two-room house, in which all family events take place.

The intercensal change reveals a trend toward houses with more rooms showing an apparent shift toward houses with more comfort and more privacy for occupants. There are many single person households in San Pedro, which has the highest number of units with one room, due to its tourism and the employment it attracts from the mainland.

The 1991 census also asked for the number of bedrooms in a unit. Since most houses usually have one living room, the average number of bedrooms is, in general, one room less than the earlier mentioned number of rooms. A house in Belize is usually valued by its number of bedrooms with the general phrase, "We live in a two-bedroom house," indicating one's living conditions.

Average household size has decreased from 5.3 persons per household in 1980 to 4.9 in 1991. This decline has been more drastic in urban areas, e.g. Corozal Town and Orange Walk Town both had a decrease of 0.8 persons. Rural Cayo, on the other hand, had 0.1 person less per household, and rural Toledo remained at 5.3.

Older, and relatively newer, houses tend to have fewer persons living in them. Those houses of in-between age have the highest average household size. New houses are likely to be occupied by younger, and therefore, smaller families, while older dwellings are more likely to house elderly people.

Population has increased in most municipalities, except Dangriga, with the Cayo rural area showing an increase of 81%. A country-wide increase in population was followed by an even higher increase in the number of dwelling units, except for rural Toledo where the increase was at the same level. Most towns have seen a substantial increase in the number of dwelling units compared to their population growth. This indicates a more urban lifestyle for these towns, i.e. smaller families.

An Overview

The following is a short overview of the housing situation for each area (division) in 1991. The main characteristics of each subdivision are used to show a general view of the area. It is therefore in no way a 'true' picture, but only a statement about how an average house may look in those areas.

Corozal Town

This most northern town had a 1991 population of 6,595, an increase of 4 % since 1980. The number of dwelling units increased by 13 % to 1,462. Undivided private dwelling units are most prevalent. Both the house and the land the house is built on are owned by the occupants. It was built either before 1970 or between 1980 and 1991. The house has wooden or concrete walls, a wooden or cement floor, and a zinc roof. Drinking water is privately caught, and there is electricity. Gas is used for cooking in an indoors kitchen. The household has access to a septic toilet. There are three to four rooms, with an average household size of 4.5 persons

Corozal Rural

The population of Corozal Rural increased from 15,977 in 1980 to 21,824 in 1991. This 37% increase was complimented by a 48 % increase in the number of dwelling units to 3,969. The most commonly found unit was a separate dwelling unit with a zinc roof and a cement floor, and

wooden or cement walls that is privately owned.. The land is either owned or leased, and the home was built between 1970 and 1989. Water comes from a private well or tank and light from the power station. Cooking is done on wood or coal in a kitchen that is indoors, although outdoor kitchens are also very common. There is a pit-latrine. The house has one or two bedrooms with an average of 5.4 persons.

Orange Walk Town

The second largest urban area in the country has a population of 10,887, an increase of 2,465 persons over the eleven-year period between the two censuses. The number of dwelling units grew by 715 to 2,179. A separate house that has been built between 1970 and 1989 is most prevalent. It has concrete or wooden walls, a concrete floor and a zinc roof. The land and the house are both private property. Drinking water is privately caught or comes from a public pipe that is located in the yard. The house is provided with electricity and has two or three bedrooms. Gas is used for indoor cooking. The toilet facility is a pit-latrine or a septic tank. The family consists of five persons.

Orange Walk Rural

An undivided dwelling unit which is owned by its inhabitants and the land is leased. The walls are made of wood or concrete, the roof of zinc and the floor of cement. It was built between 1970 and 1989. Water is either publicly piped into the yard or privately caught. One uses kerosene for lighting, and wood for cooking. The dwelling has two or three rooms of which one is a living room. There is also a kitchen inside. However, the pit-latrine is likely to be found in the yard. Population stands at 19,618, and there are 3,503 dwelling units, resulting in an average household size of 5.6 persons.

Belize City

There was only a 7 % population increase over the past eleven years. The total stands now at 42,390 with 9,749 dwelling units. The undivided private dwelling is owned or rented, while the land is mainly owned. The walls are made of wood, as is the floor. The house has a zinc roof. It was built either before 1970 or between 1980 and 1989. Drinking water is public, some is piped into the dwelling, some into the yard. There is full coverage of electricity. Cooking is done on a gas stove. There are one or two bedrooms, shared by 4.3 persons. Half of the households has access to a W.C. that is linked to the sewer system.

San Pedro

In 1980 this island was not yet classified as an urban area. In 1991 the total population was 1,905, while there were only 510 dwelling units. The majority of houses are undivided private dwellings although there is a fair share of apartments. The units are owned or rented. Most of the land is owned. A dwelling has wooden walls, a zinc roof and a wooden floor. It was built before 1970 or after 1980. Drinking water is privately caught or publicly piped into the yard, although purified water is often bought. Recently a project for full coverage of public water has been finalized. Electricity is fully available. Cooking is done with gas in an indoors kitchen. The average dwelling has only one or two rooms, in which 3.7 person live. There are septic toilet facilities.

Belize Rural

Buildings were built either before 1970 or between 1980 and 1989. The house and the land are owned by the occupants. The unit has wooden walls, a floor made of wood and a zinc roof. Water is retrieved from a wide variety of sources. Electricity is available but not to all communities. Gas is used for cooking. The standard are one or two-bedroom units. Pit-latrines are the most common type of toilet facility. The average household size is 4.6 persons. This results from 2,264 dwelling units and a population of 10,483.

Belmopan

The Capital of the country has a population of 3,423 persons, and 826 dwelling units. Belmopan has therefore the smallest average household size, i.e. 4.1 persons. Most separate dwelling units are owned or rented. The house has concrete walls, a concrete flooring and zinc roofing. The units were built before 1980. Drinking water is fully public and piped into the dwelling, electricity is widespread and there is a sewer system to which most dwellings are connected. Cooking is done indoors with gas. The average house has two to three bedrooms.

Benque Viejo

This border town (with Guatemala) increased its population from 2,436 to 3,606, and its housing stock from 446 to 718. The undivided private dwelling was built before 1970 or between 1980 and 1989. Both the land and the house are owned. Walls are made with wood or cement, while the floor is mainly made with cement, and the roof with zinc sheets. Water comes from the public source and is either piped into the dwelling or the yard. The majority of households have access to electricity, and cook with gas. Two or three bedroom houses are most common. Although most kitchens are indoors, there is quite a number of outdoor kitchens. A pit-latrine can mostly be found in the yard. A household consists of five persons.

San Ignacio/Santa Elena

The twin towns of San Ignacio and Santa Elena have owned, private dwelling units. The land is owned or leased. Walls are made of wood or concrete, as is the floor. The roof has zinc on top. The age of buildings ranges from more than 20 years to 10 years or less. There is full coverage of public water, either piped into the yard or the dwelling, and electricity. Gas is the main fuel used for cooking, in a two or three bedroom house that is shared with five persons. The kitchen is in general indoors while the bathroom can often be found in the yard. The population increased by 58% to 8,850 and the number of dwelling units by 81% to 1,754.

Cayo Rural

Due to the influx of Central American immigrants and refugees the population has increased by 81% and the number of dwelling units by 85%, resulting in figures of 11,836 and 3,818, respectively. The majority of dwelling units are separate units, owned by its inhabitants, on land that is freehold or leasehold. The house has wooden walls, a floor that is made from wood or cement and a zinc roof. The buildings are relatively new. They were built between 1980 and 1989. Water comes from a variety of sources, but most often from a river or stream. There is kerosene lighting, and one cooks with wood. On average 5.6 persons live in a one or two bedroom house. The kitchen is inside. There is a pit-latrine outdoors.

Dangriga

Dangriga is a small coastal town with a 1991 population of 6,251, which was a slight decrease from 1980. Most of the 1,393 dwelling units are undivided private dwellings that are owned. The houses are made of wood, both floor and walls, with a zinc roofing. There is a substantial number of houses that were built prior to 1970. Due to its decreasing population the number of recently built houses is smaller than elsewhere. Most people have water running into their dwelling, either from a private or a public source. There is also public water that is located in yards. Cooking is done on a gas stove in an indoors kitchen, and there is almost full coverage of electricity. There are on average three to four rooms in a dwelling, and 4.5 persons. Both septic toilets and pit-latrines are present.

Stann Creek Rural

The Stann Creek rural area has increased its population by 50% over the eleven-year intercensal period, surmounting in a total population of 11,226. The number of dwelling units has increased to 2,431. Homes are made of wood and zinc, and are generally undivided private dwelling units. Built between 1980 and 1989 and to a lesser extent before 1970, they are owned by its occupants. There are one or two bedrooms, an indoor kitchen in which cooking is done with gas or wood and an outdoors toilet. Water comes from a river or stream or from a public well or tank. There is an average of 4.6 persons per household.

Punta Gorda

With a population of 3,391 this is the smallest town on the mainland. It is also the most remote one, a mere 200 miles from Belize City over, for the most part, unpaved roads. Its population has increased considerably, as has its housing stock, now being 729 units. This gives an average household size of 4.7. Most units are separate dwellings, made of wooden walls, a cement floor and a zinc roof. Land is owned or leased, houses are owned. The age of buildings is under 20 years, although it should be mentioned that there is a considerable amount of units with no stated date of building. There are public water facilities, mainly run into the yard, septic facilities and pit-latrines and electricity. Cooking is done indoors with gas. The average house has one or two bedrooms.

Toledo Rural

Seen by most as the inferior part of Belize, this region has stayed drastically behind in development. Population and housing stock have increased at the same level, giving it a high average household size of 5.3 persons (population is 9,239 and number of units is 2,638). This figure has not changed since 1980. Most units are undivided separate dwellings. Made of wooden walls, a dirt floor and a thatched roof, the homes are different from any other region. Homes are usually owner-occupied on land that is either owned or leased. The majority of the units have been built in the last ten years. Drinking water is provided through a public well or tank or has to be carried from a river or stream. Lighting has to come from kerosene lamps, while one cooks with wood or coal. Many homes only have one, or even no, bedroom. A high percent of the population has no access to any form of toilet facility. Just over half has access to a pit-latrine that sometimes even has to be shared with other families.

Summary

Much has changed since 1980, with the standard of living having improved considerably over the past eleven years. Some areas have taken more advantage of this development than others, first likely because they are urban areas or larger settlements which makes the provision of infrastructure more feasible, and secondly because prices for construction materials will be much lower in those areas.

Belmopan seems to have the most favourable living conditions with respect to housing. On the other extreme is the rural Toledo area. This area is the most disadvantaged part of the country. Its remoteness and mountainous landscape makes accessability difficult. Furthermore, it has numerous small villages which makes the provision of infrastructure often not feasible.

The projected growth of the population will call for more housing. If the trend toward smaller families continues, the increase in the number of dwelling units has to be even higher. More infrastructure will be needed. This means an increased spending of Government monies.

The typical Belizean household lives in a separate dwelling unit, and owns that house and the land it is built on. A shift from the more traditional building material wood was noted. The availability of safe drinking water has improved substantially. Differences between the urban and rural areas are most prevalent with regards to the availability of household services. More than 50% of the rural households have no access to electricity. This same percent still uses wood for cooking. Furthermore, there is hardly any public piped water. Government responsibility for increasing access to a modern sewer system may be recognized, but less effort has so far been put into improving waste disposal than in expanding piped water supply.

One way of summarizing change in housing during the period 1980 to 1991 is to compare the percent growth in population and in the number of households. This should be balanced with the fact that the average number of rooms has increased. Growth in the number of households (38%) was higher then population growth (30%), so net improvement occurred. The mean number of persons in each household declined. A measure that more closely reflects adequacy of housing and changes of adequacy during the intercensal period is the average number of persons per room. In 1980 Belize had an average 1.9 persons per room. By 1991 this figure has fallen to 1.7, with a person per bedroom ratio of 2.5. Improvement has been evident in the degree of overcrowding, with newer homes having more rooms. Although the average number of persons living within a household is still rather high, more rooms makes living more comfortable.

Table 8.1: Type of Dwelling Unit by Area-Division, 1991

	Undivided Private	Part of Private	Apartment / Flat	Duplex	Business/ Dwelling	Barracks	Not Stated	Total
Corozal Town	72.8	3.4	10.3	5.6	7.7	0.1	0.1	1,462
Corozal Rural	93.4	2.9	0.4	1.0	2.0	0.2	0.1	3,969
Orange Walk Town	76.4	11.4	0.7	6.8	4.3	0.1	0.2	2,179
Orange Walk Rural	93.9	2.7	0.0	1.3	1.8	0.0	0.3	3,503
Belize City	63.2	16.6	4.5	12.0	2.9	0.6	0.2	9,749
San Pedro	54.7	14.9	23.9	0.6	2.4	0.4	3.0	510
Belize Rural	89.3	7.2	0.1	1.4	1.1	0.0	0.8	2,264
Belmopan	80.8	1.5	1.8	11.9	3.4	0.1	0.6	826
Benque Viejo	85.2	4.9	1.7	4.7	3.2	0.0	0.3	718
San Ignacio/ Santa Elena	78.8	4.7	0.7	10.5	4.6	0.5	0.2	1,754
Cayo Rural	90.9	4.0	0.8	1.8	1.5	0.2	0.8	3,818
Dangriga	85.1	13.3	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.1	1,393
Stann Creek Rural	83.7	4.5	0.6	2.8	1.4	6.0	0.9	2,431
Punta Gorda	88.5	4.1	3.6	0.4	2.3	0.5	0.5	729
Toledo Rural	96.5	0.7	0.9	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.6	2,638
TOTAL	81.0	7.9	2.3	5.3	2.5	0.7	0.4	37,943

Source: 1991 Population and Housing Census, Belize.

Table 8.2: Construction Material of Outer Walls by Area-Division, 1991

	Wood	Concrete	Wood & Concrete	Stone	Brick	Stucco	Makeshift	Other	Total
Corozal Town	42.7	47.2	7.2	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.1	1.5	1,462
Corozal Rural	34.1	29.6	3.8	0.3	1.0	4.3	19.2	7.7	3,969
Orange Walk Town	42.3	40.9	8.2	0.0	0.2	4.4	0.1	3.9	2,179
Orange Walk Rural	49.2	18.5	4.4	0.0	0.2	13.8	0.3	13.7	3,503
Belize City	71.8	23.2	4.6	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	9,749
San Pedro	66.3	23.9	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	3.5	510
Belize Rural	64.6	27.9	2.7	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.3	4.3	2,264
Belmopan	1.7	96.6	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.0	826
Benque Viejo	40.3	40.5	7.7	0.0	0.0	7.1	0.3	4.2	718
San Ignacio/ Santa Elena	49.1	39.2	10.9	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.4	1,754
Cayo Rural	69.6	12.4	7.2	0.0	0.8	2.7	1.9	5.5	3,818
Dangriga	80.5	14.5	4.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.6	1,393
Stann Creek Rural	77.1	8.6	1.6	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5	11.7	2,431
Punta Gorda	62.8	29.1	5.2	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	2.6	729
Toledo Rural	90.3	3.4	1.4	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.3	4.5	2,638
TOTAL	60.8	24.7	4.8	0.0	0.3	2.4	2.4	4.5	37,943

Source: 1991 Population and Housing Census, Belize.

Table 8.3: Source of Drinking Water by Area-Division, 1991

	Private Piped into Dwelling	Private Catchment	Public Piped into Dwelling	Public Piped into Yard	Public Standpipe	Public Well/ Tank	River/ Stream/ Creek	Other	Total
Corozal Town	5.5	83.9	2.4	1.7	0.3	3.4	0.0	2.7	1,462
Corozal Rural	2.5	53.9	1.5	5.7	7.4	9.1	0.0	19.9	3,969
Orange Walk Town	15.7	38.4	15.2	23.5	0.6	2.8	0.0	3.8	2,179
Orange Walk Rural	4.1	32.7	1.8	15.0	6.3	8.0	1.9	30.1	3,503
Belize City	22.5	6.7	40.7	24.3	1.2	1.5	0.1	3.1	9,749
San Pedro	14.5	44.3	5.1	17.5	1.4	3.9	0.0	13.3	510
Belize Rural	11.5	20.8	11.4	12.6	10.3	18.3	5.9	9.1	2,264
Belmopan	9.1	0.2	88.7	1.3	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	826
Benque Viejo	1.3	1.0	33.1	56.7	0.0	0.4	3.2	4.3	718
San Ignacio/ Santa Elena	1.1	0.9	49.4	44.9	0.9	0.5	0.7	1.8	1,754
Cayo Rural	12.6	10.4	7.8	12.8	11.2	10.8	30.8	3.6	3,818
Dangriga	26.3	0.4	27.9	42.1	0.2	0.1	1.3	1.7	1,393
Stann Creek Rural	11.0	5.3	0.9	5.3	11.9	36.7	20.2	8.7	2,431
Punta Gorda	7.4	13.3	18.8	52.7	2.3	4.1	0.0	1.4	729
Toledo Rural	1.7	8.3	0.3	1.8	17.4	35.0	34.4	1.2	2,638
TOTAL	11.9	20.0	19.6	18.1	5.5	9.5	7.5	7.9	37,943

Source: 1991 Population and Housing Census, Belize.

Table 8.4: Type of Toilet Facility by Area-Division, 1991

	W.C. Sewer	W.C. Septic	Pit-latrine	Other	None	Total
Corozal Town	0.7	54.5	44.7	0.0	0.1	1,462
Corozal Rural	0.0	6.7	90.9	0.2	2.2	3,969
Orange Walk Town	1.8	36.9	60.8	0.1	0.5	2,179
Orange Walk Rural	0.0	5.5	89.9	0.2	4.3	3,503
Belize City	53.0	16.2	4.3	18.5	8.0	9,749
San Pedro	1.2	85.7	11.9	0.2	1.0	510
Belize Rural	0.0	34.7	59.5	2.4	3.4	2,264
Belmopan	95.7	2.3	2.0	0.0	0.0	826
Benque Viejo	3.9	25.9	68.3	0.2	1.5	718
San Ignacio/ Santa Elena	1.1	35.2	63.0	0.0	0.7	1,754
Cayo Rural	0.0	8.5	84.7	0.2	6.7	3,818
Dangriga	5.7	34.5	36.5	14.7	8.5	1,393
Stann Creek Rural	0.0	13.1	67.2	1.3	18.4	2,431
Punta Gorda	0.3	28.1	62.8	0.4	8.4	729
Toledo Rural	0.0	2.7	54.6	2.0	40.6	2,638
TOTAL	16.2	18.6	51.3	5.8	8.1	37,943

Source: 1991 Population and Housing Census, Belize.

CHAPTER 9

CHILDREN, YOUTHS AND THE ELDERLY

Introduction

This chapter focuses on three distinct groups in the population: children, youth and the elderly. These groups are of particular interest since children and the elderly are dependent, and youth are a group in transition. By understanding the dynamics of each, greater emphasis be placed in adequately addressing their particular needs .

Children

For Census purposes, children are classified as persons 0 to 14 years old. The 1991 Census indicated that 44% of the population were children, a relatively high percent. Nevertheless, there was a decrease from 1980 when children represented 46% of the population.

This section will examine children's social and economic conditions through the mother's marital/union status, educational attainment, her employment status and income level. Because we are interested in connecting children to mothers, only those children whose mothers live in the same households are included. No comparisons with the 1980 census data are made in this section.

The tabulable population of children in 1991 was 81,644. There were 8,156 children whose mothers lived elsewhere. They represented 10% of all the children. The mothers of 847 children had died. The analysis is, therefore, based on 72,741 children whose mother lived in the same household. Data from the 1991 Census indicate that 60.6% of all the children were living with a mother that is legally married and 36% lived with mothers that have never been married. The remaining 3.4% live with mothers that have either been widowed, divorced or legally separated. Further analysis of the data indicate that the rate of married mothers gradually decreases as the age of the children decreases. Children in the age groups 10-14 had the highest rate (66.7%) of married mothers while the lowest rate (51%) was recorded among children under one year. It was the reverse for children of never married mothers, where the younger the children, the higher the percent of never married mothers. These figures signify the growing trend for women to have children before marriage.

A comparison of the situation at the urban and rural level revealed that children in rural areas have a higher percent of mothers that are married. In rural areas 68.3% of the children lived with married mothers, while in urban areas the rate was only 54%.

At the district level, Toledo has the highest percent (75.8%) of children that lived with married mothers. In the Belize and Stann Creek districts, the majority of children lived with never married mothers. An explanation for this is the cultural and ethnic base that exist in these two districts. Even though further analyses have not been done at the ethnic level, other studies (Jagdeo, 1993) have shown that the percent of women having children before marriage is highest among the Creole and Garifuna and lowest among the Mayas. This corresponds with the percent in the Belize and Stann Creek districts where the Creole and Garifuna are dominant, and with the low percent of these groups in the Toledo district where Mayas are dominant.

It should be noted however, that some married women also had children before they got married. A more detailed study on age at first marriage and age at first birth would have given more

information on that situation. Also, note that these figures are based on legal marital status and not union status. Some women who were classified as legally married might not have been living with their spouse, but as a single parent or with a partner. Meanwhile, those that were 'never married' might also have been living with a partner. Data on union status indicate that 7.2% of the children were living with single married mothers. The corresponding figures in the urban areas (12.4%) was higher than in rural areas (4.7%).

Among children that lived with never married mothers, 71.6% had mothers living with a partner. The rate in rural areas was higher than in the urban areas. The highest proportion of children with never married single mothers was in the Belize District where only 61.2% had mothers who lived with a partner compared to those in Corozal (80.3%).

Almost 60% of the children lived in households where the head was in the age group 25 to 39 years. Only 5.4% live with heads that were younger than 25 and 35% live with heads who were 40 years and over. The distribution at the urban/rural level, as well as at the district level, is presented in Table 9.3..

The Toledo and Belize districts recorded the highest percent of children with heads younger than 25 years, 6.8% and 6.4%, respectively. Early marriage among the dominant Mayas in Toledo may have contributed to households having younger heads. In the Stann Creek district, 7.1% of the children lived with household heads that were 55 years and older. This percent, which was the highest in the country, is an indicator of children being left in the care of grandparents or other older persons.

The educational level of mother is measured by years of schooling. Based on international standards, a person is considered literate if she has seven or more years of schooling. Thirty-five percent of children lived with mothers that have less than seven years of schooling. This situation is even worse in rural areas where the corresponding figure was about 47%. However, in urban areas only 18.3% of the children live with mothers who have less than seven years of schooling.

The highest proportion (44%) of children live with mothers that have 7-8 years of schooling. These mothers have not gone on to high school and some did not even complete standard six of primary school.

Mothers with more that 12 years of schooling accounted for only 4.1% of the children. The corresponding figures in urban and rural areas were 8% and 1.4%, respectively. There is no tertiary institutions in rural areas and those from the rural areas who do obtain a tertiary level education usually relocate to urban areas where there are more job opportunities.

Years of schooling for mothers also varied by the age of children. Mothers with more than 12 years of schooling represent 4.5% of the children under one year compared to 11.6% in the 10-14 age group. This suggests that females are now staying in school longer before having babies, or that mothers of children take longer to obtain their final education.

The data also indicate that there was a higher percent of children representing married mothers with more than 12 years of schooling than never married mothers. The corresponding figures are 5% and 2.3%, respectively. There was a 5.5% difference between the percent of children with married and never married mothers who have eight years of schooling or less. The higher percent of never married with 9-10 years of schooling is an indication of high school dropout since these years are the first and second forms of high school. Based on the census data, employed

mothers represented 17% of the children. This percent was almost doubled (33.7%) for employed urban mothers, but is only 6.3% for employed rural mothers.

The majority of children (81%) lived with mothers who are not in the labour force. The corresponding figures for children that lived with married mothers was even higher (83.6%) and was 76% for those that lived with mothers that were never married.

Comparisons of married and never married mothers' employment indicate that the Belize district has the highest percent (37.8%) of children with married mothers that are employed and Toledo, the lowest. In three of the districts, Corozal, Orange Walk and Toledo, the percent of children who live with never married mothers that are employed is higher than those who lived with married mothers that are employed.

Youths

All persons age 15 to 29 years were classified as youths. They totaled 51,886 of the population, which represented 27.4%. Included in this group were teenagers, some of whom were dependent on their families, as well as others that were making the transition to independence. This section will examine their social and economic status.

Among youths, 17% were heads of household. The corresponding figures at the district level show that Toledo had the highest percent (22.2%) of youths as household heads, followed by Stann Creek and Belize with 18.6% and 18.2%, respectively. The lowest (14.8%) was in the Corozal district. The occurrence of early marriage among the Mayas in Toledo is a possible explanation for that district having the highest percent of youth as heads.

The difference between urban and rural areas is less than one percentage point, but the gender difference is distinct. Only 6.2% of females youths were heads of households while, 28% of the male youths were heads. The occurrence of female heads was more prevalent in urban areas than rural, nine percent of female urban youths were heads. This figure is three times more than that for the female rural heads.

A significant proportion of the youths were still living with their parents. The figures range from 37.8% in Toledo to as high as 52.3% in Corozal. Compared to 1980, the range was 33.8% in Toledo to 48.7% in Cayo. Toledo had maintained its position with the lowest percent of youths still living with parents. The gender differences reveal that more male youths were still living with their parents than females. At the country level, 49.4% of male and 41.7% of female youths were classified as children of heads. In urban areas, 47% of male and 41.9% of female youths lived with their parents. The corresponding figures for rural areas were 51.5% and 41.4% for males and females, respectively. These figures indicate that a higher proportion of rural male youths still live with their parents while there is no significant difference between the female youths in rural and urban areas.

Among the teenage youths, those 15 to 19 years, 2.4% were heads of household, 5.6% spouses, and 69% were still living with parents. A higher percent of male (73%) than female (56%) teenage youths were still living with a parent.

While only 17% of the youths were heads of households, 21.6% of them were married. This suggests that a proportion of the married youths were not living in their own households. The Toledo district had the highest percent of married youths (36.6%). This district also had the highest percent

of youths that were heads of household. Stann Creek, followed closely by Belize which had the lowest percent of married youths, 12.8% and 13.7% respectively.

The sex difference among married youths was even more distinct than that among youth heads and spouses. At the country level, 25.8% of females and only 17.3% of males were married. The majority, almost 78%, of the youths have never married. At the district level, Stann Creek and Belize had the highest percent (86.6% and 85.5%) never married and Toledo the lowest (63%).

An analysis of the union status of youths revealed that 3.8% of the married youths were not living with their spouses. It is assumed that early marriage could lead to a higher percent of estrangement. However, the Toledo district, which has the lowest mean age of marriage also had the lowest percent (2.6%) of estranged married youths. The cultural base might have been an influencing factor. The percent among Orange Walk married youths was the same as Toledo's, and Belize District had the highest percent (7.8%) of estranged married youth followed closely by Stann Creek with 7.2%. Only 27% of the estranged married youth were living with a partner while the majority (73%) were living single. Among the never married youths, 21.2% were living with a partner and the remaining 78.8% were living single. The overall percent of youths living with either a spouse or partner was 21.2%. The corresponding figures at the district level ranged from 51.1% in Toledo to 32% in Belize.

Comparisons of union status in 1991 with 1980 were made only for females since males were not asked their union status in 1980. The percent of female youths living with a spouse or partner increased from 39.4% in 1980 to 44.4% in 1991. This was a result of an increase in the percent of never married females living with partners rather than an increase in marriage. In all the districts except Stann Creek, the percent of married female youths decreased.

Approximately 16.2% of youths were attending school. The majority (87%) of those attending school were in the age group 15-19, 9.5% in the 20-24, and 3% in the 25-29 age group. The percent of youths attending school in 1991 was a little higher than the corresponding figure (14.5%) in 1980. The Census did not collect data needed to estimate the attendance rate. The Education Planning Unit however, collects monthly attendance data, but only for primary schools. Almost 36% of teenage youths were attending school. The majority (80%) of them were at secondary school, 10% at sixth form and 8.5% were still in primary school. The remaining ones were at other institutions. One half of those in the age group 20-24 attending school were pursuing post secondary education, 25.6% at sixth form and 24.7% at university. There were still 13.6% in secondary school. Thirty percent of those in the age group 25-29 attending school were pursuing university degrees and 9.3% were at sixth form.

The educational attainment of those not attending school was assessed by the number of years of school completed. The analysis is based only on the youths not attending school. Among these, 26.3% have less than seven years of schooling, i.e. less than a standard five education. Based on the international standard, this 26.3% of the youths would be classified as not literate. The corresponding figures are 29.6% for teenage youths, 24.1% for those 20-24 years and 26.1% for the 25-29 years. These figures indicate the growing incidence of youths not continuing their education. Only 11% of the youths in Belize district have less than seven years of schooling; however, in the other districts the figures ranged from 30.3 in Orange Walk to 36.5% in Stann Creek.

About one-third of youth have completed 8 years of schooling and only 6% have completed 12 years. The eight years of schooling is equivalent to the completion of a primary school education and the twelve years in completion of secondary school in Belize.

Nine to eleven years of schooling is equivalent to forms one, two and three of secondary school. There were 24% of youth who had either nine, ten or eleven years of schooling. These were youth who had started secondary school but did not complete it. The youth labour force participation rate was 51.4% in 1991. Belize district had the highest rate (52.0%) followed by Orange Walk (51.3%) and Stann Creek, (50.4%). The rate was lowest in Toledo (46.1%). It should be noted that these districts with the highest participation rates are the ones that have the major industries. Belize District is considered the commercial capital, the sugar industry is in Orange Walk and Stann Creek is home to the citrus and banana industries.

A comparison with the figures for 1980 revealed that the youth labour force participation rate was lower in 1991. The 1980 rate was 54%, almost 3% higher than in 1991. This decrease in labour force participation was experienced in all districts and was most pronounced in Corozal where the rate was 56.7% in 1980 and fell to 49.3% in 1991. A reason for this decrease in Corozal is the closure of its sugar cane factory..

On the contrary, total female youth participation in the labour force increased slightly from 25.8% in 1980 to 26.2% in 1991. Stann Creek and Toledo districts were the only two that experienced a decline in the female participation rate. The decline in Stann Creek was most drastic, from 30% in 1980 to 21.7% in 1991. Belize District had the highest female participation rate (40.2%) in 1991. However, female youths in Orange Walk experienced the greatest increase in labour force participation, from 13.1% in 1980 to 18.3% in 1991. In all the districts that had experienced an increase in female participation, the rate of females engaged in home duties had decreased and vice versa. Even though Toledo experienced a decrease, the percent of females in home duties remained the same.

The total youth unemployment rate at the country level was 4.9%. Urban unemployment was 6.1% and rural 3.7%. Males had a 5.6% unemployment rate while females had 3%. Teenage youths had the highest unemployment rate (8.4%). The corresponding figures for the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups were 4.3% and 2.9%, respectively. The unemployment rate for teenage youth was higher than that for any other sub-group. The youth unemployment rate in 1980 was higher than it was in 1991. In all districts except Orange Walk, the rate in 1980 was lower than the 1991 rate.

The youths in 1991 experienced lower unemployment rate as well as lower participation rate than those in 1980; there are a number of factors that could have contributed to this. The increase in the percent of youths attending school might have delayed entry into the labour force and consequently reduced participation. Discouraged job seekers, especially women, eventually stopped looking for work and took up home duties. The example of a drastic decline in female labour force participation in Stann Creek was noted above.

In 1991, almost 14% of the population was foreign born. The majority came from Central America, mainly Guatemala and El Salvador. One third of foreign born persons were youths. The foreign born youth (8,522) represented 16.4% of the total youth population. Cayo had the largest share of foreign born youth, representing 17% of the youth in that district. The absolute number in Belize district is the third highest compared with the other districts. However, these foreign born youth represented only 8.6% of Belize district youths, the lowest proportion of foreign born youth.

In all districts except Cayo there were more male than female foreign born youth. In Stann Creek and Toledo there 57.2% foreign born youth were males, the highest percent compared to the other districts. Cayo had only 47.3% male foreign born youth. The higher concentration of males in the two southern districts is probably a pull to the male dominated banana and citrus industries in Stann Creek and subsistence agriculture in Toledo. Domestic work in Belmopan and San Ignacio areas in Cayo are more available and may have caused the pull of female foreign born youth there.

Among youth born in Belize, only 2.2% have lived in another country. Even though Belize District had the highest absolute number of youth who had lived abroad, Cayo had the highest percent (2.8).

An examination of the internal migration of youths revealed that the majority (69.1%) have never moved. The corresponding figures at the district level varied from a high of 75.5% in Corozal to a low of 62.8% in Toledo.

The percent of youth moving from one district to another was higher than those moving within district, with approximately 59% of the movement between districts. In the Belize District, the youth who had moved from another district was almost two times the number of those who had moved within that district. Youths have been attracted to this district for many reasons. Prior to 1986, Belize District was the only district that offered tertiary level education, including sixth form, nursing school and teacher's college. Most youths would move to Belize City during their course of study and some would remain after completion. The major banking, commerce and other service activities in this district also made it more attractive for job opportunities.

The Elderly

The elderly, which comprised all persons sixty years and over, represented 6.2% of the population in 1991. Fifty one percent of the elderly were married, 22.2% were never married and 22.6% were widowed. The corresponding figures for 1980 were 50.9% married, 24% never married and 21.9% widowed. Hence, there were no significant changes.

Toledo and Orange Walk had the highest percent of elderly married, followed by Cayo. In 1980, however, Orange Walk and Cayo had the highest followed by Toledo. Corozal district had the highest percent of elderly widowed in both 1991 and 1980. Nevertheless, there was a 2.5 % decline in of elderly widowed in Corozal. Orange Walk and Toledo also had decrease in the percent of elderly widowed. However, there was a 3.4 percentage point increase in Stann Creek and a 2.5% increase in Belize.

The highest percent of never married elderly was in Stann Creek followed closely by the Belize District. These two districts also had the highest rate of never married in 1980. It should be noted that a significantly high percent of the elderly have never been married, 22.2% in 1991 and almost one-quarter in 1980. This does not mean that these elderly have never lived with a partner. The data indicated that almost 31.4% of the never married lived with a partner. This is an indication that the common law union, which are increasing among the young have been around for a long time.

In 1991 as well as in 1980, married elderly men far out number the women. However, the number of widows were more than two times the widowers. The lower mean age at marriage and higher life expectancy for females and the tendency for males to remarry are probably the main reasons for this.

Labour force participation among the elderly was 31.8%. Even though this figure is relatively low, it should be noted that the compulsory age for retirement from public service, (the largest employer in Belize), is age 55. Very few persons beyond this age are rehired, and if they are it is usually for short term consultancies only. Therefore, the elderly are effectively excluded from public service. Retirement age for the private sector varies. Nevertheless, Social Security pays retirement benefits starting at age 65. The percent of elderly in the labour force was equivalent to the employed since the percent of those unemployed was less than. In 1980 labour force participation among the elderly was 35.5%; nearly 12% higher than the 1991 rate.

In 1991 the urban elderly participation rate was 27.7%, almost ten percentage points less than the rural rate. Participation among males was 55.8% compared to only 8.1% for the females. There was a decrease in male participation and no significant change in female participation between censuses. Orange Walk District, followed by Corozal, had the highest participation rate in 1991, in 1980 the position of these two districts was reversed.

Fifteen percent (15.5%) of the elderly were foreign born in 1991. This was an increase compared to the 1980 estimate of 11.7%. Cayo had the highest proportion of foreign born elderly. The proportion had increased from 22.1% in 1980 to 28.3% in 1991. There was very little change in Orange Walk and Belize Districts.

Only 7.8% of the elderly who were born in Belize have lived in another country. The corresponding figures at the district level ranged from 5.9% in Corozal to 8.8% in Belize District. Almost 39% of the elderly have lived in another district or another place within the district where they were living in 1991. There was only a marginally higher percent of males (39.4%) than females (37.8%) who had moved. Overall, the majority (56.3) of elderly moved from one district to another; however, a higher percent of females than males moved from one district to another and a higher percent of males than females that moved within the district.
The Belize and Stann Creek districts had a far higher proportion of females that moved from another district than moved within district.

Further analysis of the year of migration would have given more information on whether these elderly moved when they were younger or as elderly. The reason for internal migration could differ depending if the move was made before they had become 'old'. Also, further analysis of the place of birth and the present residence for those who have moved would give an indication of those who had returned to their place of birth or elsewhere to retire.

Summary and Recommendations

There is a high incidence of children living with mothers that have never married, however, the majority live with mothers who have a partner. The incidence of women having children before marriage is increasing. Most people would consider this a moral issue. However, other aspects concerning child support and commitment to assist with rearing and nurturing children also need to be addressed. A significantly high percent of children live with mothers who have not gone beyond primary school. Nevertheless, there seems to be a growing trend for women to stay in school longer before having babies. Conditions to foster this trend should be enhanced. This could start by providing more secondary schools or more opportunities for primary school levers to go on to secondary schools. A sound family life education programme in all schools could also effect changes toward this end. The majority of children live with mothers that are not in the labour force.

However, there was a higher incidence of never married mothers working than married mothers. Providing more skills, training and increasing opportunities for womens' participation in the labour force is essential.

There has been an increase in the percent of never married living with partners. The whole moral issue could be raised again as well as issues of support and nurturing for children born into this type of relationship. Some partners usually get married after a period of time. Again, it is essential that family life education is taught at age appropriate levels. More than one half of the teenage youths are not attending school, only about a third of them are employed and the unemployment rate is higher than that among any other age group. There is need to encourage more youths to complete at least a secondary education and further opportunities for post secondary studies. Not all youths fit into the formal education system therefore, alternate programs should be provided. The higher educational attainment and skill training coupled with increased job opportunities for youths should alleviate some of the problems facing Belizean youths.

About one-half of the elderly population were married and a little less than one-quarter were widowed. There was also a significant percent that have never married but, live with a partner. Approximately one-third of the elderly were in the labour force, which represents a decrease compared with the 1980 figures.

Table 9.1: Children by Marital Status of Mother

	Total	Married	Never Married	Other
Country	72,641	60.6	36.0	3.4
Urban	29,885	49.7	45.9	4.4
Rural	42,756	68.3	29.0	2.7
Corozal	11,368	73.6	22.9	3.5
Orange Walk	12,703	69.1	27.8	3.1
Belize	18,689	42.1	52.7	5.2
Cayo	15,444	64.9	31.8	3.3
Stann Creek	6,463	43.8	54.0	2.2
Toledo	8,154	75.8	21.6	2.3

Source: 1991 Census

Table 9.2: Children with Never Married Mothers by Union Status of Mothers

	Never Married	Never married with partner	% W/Partner
Country	26,150	18,731	71.6
Urban	13,741	8,595	62.6
Rural	12,409	10,136	81.7
Corozal	2,598	2,086	80.3
Orange Walk	3,531	2,882	81.7
Belize	9,852	6,026	61.2
Cayo	4,913	3,914	79.7
Stann Creek	3,487	2,430	69.7
Toledo	1,760	1,393	79.1

Source: 1991 Census

Table 9.3: Children by Age of Household Head

	Total	<25	25 - 39	40 - 54	55+
Country	65,628	% 5.4	59.8	29.2	5.6
Urban	25,675	% 5.8	61.2	27.7	5.3
Rural	39,953	% 5.2	58.9	30.1	5.8
Corozal	10,389	% 4.8	60.6	29.6	5.0
Orange Walk	11,670	% 4.7	59.8	30.4	5.1
Belize	15,737	% 6.4	62.3	26.0	5.3
Cayo	14,330	% 4.7	57.3	32.6	6.4
Stann Creek	5,720	% 5.4	56.7	30.7	7.1
Toledo	7,782	% 6.8	60.3	27.4	5.6

Source: 1991 Census

Table 9.4: Children by Mother's Years of Schooling and Marital Status

Years of Schooling	Married %	Never Married %
<7	37.1	31.6
7 - 8	43.2	45.8
9 - 10	4.7	9.4
11 - 12	9.6	10.7
>12	5.0	2.3
DK/NS	0.3	0.2

Source: 1991 Census

Table 9.5: Children by Employment and Marital Status of Mothers

	Total	Married Employed %	NLF	Total	Never Married Employed %	NLF
Corozal	7,837	10.6	89.4	2,033	11.0	88.8
Orange Walk	8,325	8.8	91.0	2,828	10.5	89.5
Belize	7,133	37.8	62.0	7,349	36.4	63.2
Cayo	9,544	17.5	82.4	4,061	16.9	83.0
Stann Creek	2,721	17.5	82.3	2,724	15.0	84.9
Toledo	5,987	5.4	94.5	1,486	11.4	88.6

Source: 1991 Census

Table 9.6: Youths by Relationship to Head of Household by District

	Total	Head	Spouse	Child
Country	51,886	17.0	18.2	45.5
Corozal	8,197	14.8	18.7	52.3
Orange Walk	8,691	15.2	19.0	49.5
Belize	16,140	18.2	15.6	41.8
Cayo	10,060	15.7	18.3	48.6
Stann Creek	4,544	18.6	18.2	39.1
Toledo	4,254	22.2	22.9	37.8

Source: 1991 Census

Table 9.7: 1991 & 1980 Marital/Union Status of Female Youths

	Total	Married	Never Married	Spouse/Partner
1991				
Country	26,124	25.8	73.3	44.4
Corozal	4,063	33.8	64.4	47.7
Orange Walk	4,195	31.9	67.3	49.8
Belize	8,376	16.2	82.7	36.8
Cayo	5,207	27.3	71.7	45.6
Stann Creek	2,155	16.3	83.1	38.6
Toledo	2,128	42.5	57.0	59.7
1980				
Country	19,513	26.8	71.4	39.4
Corozal	3,003	35.4	62.5	46.5
Orange Walk	2,937	37.4	61.2	49.1
Belize	7,536	17.2	80.6	29.5
Cayo	2,999	28.6	70.0	40.5
Stann Creek	1,678	14.6	84.4	35.9
Toledo	1,360	49.2	48.8	59.1

Source: 1980 and 1991 Censuses

Table 9.8: Youths Not Attending School by Years of Schooling by District

	Total	<7	8	9 - 11
Country	43,350	26.3	33.8	23.9
Corozal	7,068	32.3	33.3	11.5
Orange Walk	7,519	30.3	33.2	13.1
Belize	12,427	10.9	32.7	28.4
Cayo	8,480	33.3	31.9	13.0
Stann Creek	3,917	36.5	35.4	11.6
Toledo	3,869	31.8	40.8	9.4

Source: 1991 Census

Table 9.9: Youths by Economic Activity by Selected Characteristic

	Total	Labour	Force	Not In Labour Force
	Total	Employed	Unemployed	
Country	51,886	48.9	2.5	48.6
Corozal	8,197	48.0	1.3	41.6
Orange Walk	8,691	49.6	1.6	48.8
Belize	16,140	52.0	3.3	44.7
Cayo	10,060	46.9	2.8	50.3
Stann Creek	4,544	47.0	3.4	49.6
Toledo	4,254	44.0	2.1	53.9

Source: 1991 Census

Table 9.10: Youth Unemployment Rate by District

	1991		1980	
	Labour Force	Unemp. Rate	Labour Force	Unemp. Rate
Country	26,674	4.9	21,156	8.3
Corozal	4,041	2.6	3,512	4.1
Orange Walk	4,453	3.1	3,346	3.1
Belize	8,386	6.5	8,025	12.5
Cayo	4,998	5.5	3,102	7.2
Stann Creek	2,290	6.7	1,854	12.4
Toledo	1,960	4.6	1,317	4.9

Source: 1980 and 1991 Censuses

Table 9.11: Foreign Born Youths as a Percent of Total Youths

	Total	Foreign Born	% Foreign Born
Country	51,886	8,522	16.4
Corozal	8,691	884	10.8
Orange Walk	8,691	1,474	17.0
Belize	16,140	1,396	8.6
Cayo	10,060	2,713	27.0
Stann Creek	4,544	1,214	26.7
Toledo	4,254	841	19.8

Source: 1991 Census

Table 9.12: Youth Internal Migration by District

	Total Moved	Moved Between Districts	Moved Within Districts
Country	16,051	58.6	41.4
Corozal	2,007	53.1	46.9
Orange Walk	2,317	54.7	45.3
Belize	5,004	66.0	34.0
Cayo	3,537	56.3	43.7
Stann Creek	1,571	55.8	44.2
Toledo	1,579	55.5	44.5

Source: 1991 Census

Table 9.13: Elderly by Marital Status

	1991				1980			
	Total	Married	Widowed	N/Married	Total	Married	Widowed	N/married
Country	11,367	51.0	22.6	22.2	9,244	50.9	21.9	24.0
Corozal	1,509	55.6	26.2	15.2	1,093	53.6	28.7	15.9
O/Walk	1,440	60.1	21.5	16.3	997	58.3	23.1	16.2
Belize	4,181	42.4	23.3	28.3	4,147	45.7	20.8	29.0
Cayo	1,998	58.2	21.9	16.0	1,269	58.1	21.6	17.5
Stann/C	1,319	45.2	22.0	29.1	1,095	49.1	18.6	30.2
Toledo	920	61.6	17.5	18.6	643	56.4	21.3	19.3

Source 1980 and 1991 Censuses

Table 9.14: Elderly by Marital Status by Sex

	1991			1980		
	Married	Widowed	N/Married	Married	Widowed	N/Married
Total	5,802	2,568	2,520	4,702	2,020	2,215
Male	3,470	722	1,208	2,804	482	1,026
Female	2,332	1,846	1,312	1,898	1,538	1,189

Source : 1980 and 1991 Censuses

Table 9.15: Elderly Participation Rate by Selected Characteristics

	1991		1980	
	Total	Participation Rate	Total	Participation Rate
Country	11,367	31.1	9,244	34.7
Urban	6,500	27.7		
Rural	4,867	37.3		
Male	5,654	55.8	4,490	64.1
Female	5,713	8.1	4,348	8.5
Corozal	1,509	35.6	1,093	41.7
Orange Walk	1,440	37.4	997	40.2
Belize	4,181	28.3	4,147	32.3
Cayo	1,998	31.6	1,269	37.0
Stann Creek	1,319	30.0	1,095	32.9
Toledo	920	34.5	643	36.5

Source: 1980 and 1991 Censuses

Table 9.16: Elderly Internal Migration by Sex and District

	Total Moved		District to district		Within District	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Country	2,227	2,162	55.1	57.6	44.9	42.4
Corozal	317	315	43.5	47.9	56.5	52.1
Orange Walk	388	316	57.7	52.8	42.3	47.2
Belize	602	773	58.1	64.3	41.9	35.7
Cayo	446	410	57.6	58.8	42.4	41.2
Stann Creek	279	208	59.9	63.5	40.1	36.5
Toledo	195	140	46.2	41.4	53.8	58.6

Source: 1991 Census

CHAPTER 10

WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE

Introduction

This chapter focuses on labour force participation, and other labour force indicators for women, and makes gender comparisons. Traditionally, women have been the home care givers in our society and very few ventured out of the home to find work. Times have changed and now more women are seeking, and finding, work. In 1991, the total number of women in the working age population was 51,659.

Labour Force Participation

Women working or seeking work in 1991 numbered 12,951, and represented 25.1% of all women. This figure of (25.1%) is referred to as the women's labour force participation rate. The participation rate for women is markedly lower than that for men (81%). It is suspected that the low rate for women is an underestimation of their actual participation in economic activity. Many women are involved in informal economic activities which even they do not recognize as work. Nevertheless, women' labour force participation has increased from 1980 when the rate was 21.7%.

Urban women had a 34.5% participation rate while the rate for rural women was 14.4%. These rates were higher than the 1980 rate, (28.3% for urban and 12% for rural). Among men, it is those in rural, rather than urban areas, that had higher participation rates.

Women in Belize District had the highest female participation rate (38.2%). The next highest rate was for women in the Cayo District. These two districts (where women' participation was highest) have more than one urban area and more variety of job opportunities. In Toledo, where participation was the lowest, there is no major industry, and women have to depend on the limited available teaching and government posts and other positions in the service sector. Even though Stann Creek had the third highest participation rate for women, it was the only district that had a lower rate in 1991 than in 1980.

Participation rates were highest for women in the age group 20 -34 years and for men in the 35-49 age group. These same two age groups of women and men had the highest participation rate in 1980 even though the rates were higher than in 1991.

The participation rate of those persons who were identified as the head of household was approximately 38% for the women and 89% for the men. The corresponding rates in 1980 were lower for female heads and higher for male heads. The male heads also had a higher unemployment rate in 1980. The participation rate for female heads was higher in 1991 compared to 1980 while the rate for male heads was lower in 1991 than 1980.

One-half of the female heads were located in the Belize district. Nevertheless, the participation rate was highest for the female heads in this district than in any other. The 45.9% rate was 10% higher than in 1980. About one-quarter of the women in Cayo and Stann Creek were heads of household. However, participation rate among the female heads in Cayo was 35% while the

corresponding rate in Stann Creek was only 19.5%.

Further analysis of the 8,327 female heads revealed that 6,188 of them were not living with a spouse or partner. These single female heads represent 12% of the total women and three-quarters of the female heads. There was at least one child living in each of these households that were headed by single female. Further analysis indicated that there is a growing trend for women to have children before they are married. However, they are staying in school longer. The participation rate for these single female heads was almost 40%. This rate is higher than that for any other sub-group of women in the labour force. A significant proportion (60%) of the single female heads were not in the labour force. Further analysis would be required to know the source of income for these households. It is suspected that a significant number of the single female heads depends on remittances.

The participation rate for persons classified as spouse/partners had increased from 12% in 1980 to 18% in 1991 for the females and from 76.9% to 83.9% for the males. This increase is an indication of the growing need for more than one source of income in the households. The participation rate for female spouse compared to the rate for female heads was significantly lower. This is expected since, in most cases, the female spouse's income is usually complementary to the head's income, while the income earned by female head might be the only source.

The females who were children of the household head had a participation rate of 29.0%. There was no significant change compared with the 1980 figures. Male children of the head had participation rate of 67.7% which was about 9 percentage points lower than the 1980 rate.

Married women had a lower participation rate than the never married women. Twenty percent of them compared to 29% of the never married women participated in the labour force. The other women who were either divorced, legally separated or widowed had a participation rate of 22.6%, also higher than that for married women. It is suspected that the married women, like those female spouse/partner, were working to complement the household income. There are several reasons why participation rate was lower for married women. The spouse/partner's income could suffice the household, they postponed working until the children are off to school or they have gotten frustrated with looking for a job.

Compared to 1980, there had been an increase of married women participating in the labour force. Likewise, the 5% increase could be an indication of the growing need to have more than one source of income in the households.

Unlike the comparison of married and never married women, the participation rate of married men was higher than the rate for never married men. This higher rate for married men is a reflection of the expectation held of married men, they must provide for their families. It should be noted that the majority of never married men lived with a partner and they as well should be expected to provide for their families. The rates for both married and never married men were lower in 1991 than in 1980. In 1980, 90.5% of married men and 80.7% of never married men were in the labour force. The 1991 rates were 88.6% and 76.5%, respectively.

Unemployed Labour Force

The unemployed women were those in the labour force who did not have a job, were available and/or seeking jobs. Only 245 of the 12,951 women in the labour force were not working and wanted to work. This small number of unemployed women resulted in a very low unemployment rate of 1.9%. Again, it is suspected that there might have been more than 245 unemployed women.

Many of them who wanted work and could not find might have gotten frustrated and ended up doing home duties. The women engaged in home duties are placed out of the labour force. A comparison of the 1980 figures revealed that there were more unemployed women then than there were in 1991. This could be an indication of the women giving up hope to find work and reverting to home duties. Unemployment rates in 1980 were higher overall.

Women in the Stann Creek district had the highest unemployment rate compared to women in the other districts. As stated above, this district was the only one to have had a decrease in the participation rate. In 1980 this district also had the highest unemployment rate for women which was more than three times higher than the 1991 rate. The high unemployment rate in 1980 was an indication of their willingness to work. After not being able to find work, most of these women apparently took up home duties and were placed out of the labour force which resulted in the decreased participation.

Teenage females and males had the highest unemployment rates, 6.0% and 9.1%, respectively. The persons in this age group lack the experience, and in some cases, skills and qualifications that are required for most jobs. Furthermore, they have to compete with those in the older age groups that are more experienced.

Employed Labour Force

As pointed out above, the labour force comprises those persons that worked, the employed, and those that did not work and wanted to work, the unemployed. The remainder of this chapter will focus only on the employed persons in the labour force and examine their educational level, main occupation, industry and income. There were 12,706 employed women and 40,910 employed men in the labour force. The corresponding figures for 1980 were 8,020 and 31,158, respectively.

An evaluation of the highest education level reached for the employed persons indicated that 47% of the employed women did not reach secondary school, 36.2% reached secondary and 5.4% had gone beyond secondary school. The distribution of the men at these levels of education reached was different. The majority of the employed males, almost 75%, did not reach secondary level while 17.3% reached secondary and almost 7% reached post secondary. The employed women had a higher percent that reached secondary. However, a higher percent of employed men have reached post secondary education.

Women were occupied mainly as elementary workers (21.6%) (domestic helpers, shop assistant and laborers in factories), associate professionals (18.9%), mainly teachers, and clerks (17.6%). Workers in these occupations include stall and street vendors, domestic helpers and labourers in construction and farm work. The three main occupations for the men were elementary (30.7%), agriculture (19.8%) and craft (16.0%). Only 4.2% of the women were occupied as professionals. This rate was however, higher than the corresponding rate (2.2%) for the men. There were only a few more men (2,520) than women (2,401) occupied as technicians and associate professionals. Nevertheless, this number of women represented 18.9%, a rate three times higher than that for the males in the same occupation. Overall, 23% of the women were occupied as professionals and associate professionals while only 8.5% of the men were engaged in these occupations. It should be noted that teachers and nurses, female dominated occupations, are classified as associate professionals hence, the high rate for women.

The Belize district had the lowest percent (18%) of women engaged in elementary occupations compared to the other districts. The highest percent of elementary workers was in Orange Walk which also had the second highest percent of women occupied as associate

professionals. The Corozal district had the highest percent of associate professional women.

The majority, 89.5%, of persons in elementary occupations did not reach secondary level of education. However, 12.7% of the women and 9.3% of the men occupied as elementary workers had reached secondary and post secondary levels. It is suspected that these elementary workers with post primary education have not been able to find jobs to meet their qualifications and skills and had to settle for lower skilled jobs. Note that there was a higher percent of women than men who had to settle for the lower skilled jobs.

Twenty percent of the women elementary workers in Belize district had reached post primary levels. They represent the highest percent of women who had to settle for lower skilled jobs. Almost 22% of the men in this district faced the same situation. These figures indicate that the supply of higher skilled jobs in Belize district is very limited. The situation in the other districts was not as acute.

There were 4,921 persons employed as associate professionals. Almost 80% of these persons had reached secondary and post secondary education. A comparison by sex revealed that 83.6% of the women reached a secondary level and higher while only 76% of the men met that qualification.

The Cayo district had the highest percent of associate professional women who had reached secondary level and higher. The Belize district had the highest percent of men with the same occupation and level of education reached. In all the districts, the percent of women was higher than those of the men.

Agriculture, forestry, logging, fishing and mining are considered the main industries in the primary sector. The number of women in this sector was less in 1991 than in 1980. They represented only 4.0% in 1991 and 8.6% in 1980. These figures signify a withdrawal of women from this sector. A far higher percent of men were in the primary sector. They represented 41.3%, a rate which is lower than the 1980 rate. The women in the Stann Creek district had the highest proportion working in this sector - almost 24% - followed far behind by the women in Toledo with 9%. Less than one % of the women in the Belize district were occupied in the primary sector.

The highest proportion of women in the primary sector were engaged in elementary occupations and in agriculture. They represented 45.2% and 29.8% of the women participating in the primary sector. As noted above, the Stann Creek district has the highest percent of women participating in the primary sector. The majority of these women were occupied as elementary workers and in agriculture. The banana and citrus industries existing in this district allow for more women employment than any other industry in this sector. The men participating in the primary sector were mainly occupied as agriculture (46.7) and elementary (42.5%) workers.

Thirteen percent of the women were occupied in the secondary sector compared to 19% of men. Manufacturing, electricity and water and construction are the main industries in this sector and women's involvement did not change significantly from 1980. At the district level, women's participation in this sector ranged from 4.2% in Toledo to 15.2% in Belize. The men in these two districts also had the lowest and highest participation in this sector respectively.

Women participating in the secondary sector were mainly occupied as craft and related workers (37.6%), and operators and assemblers (26.5%). The Belize district had the highest proportion (71.4%) of women with these occupations in the secondary sector. This district has one major sewing factory and at least two other smaller ones that employ mainly women. The majority of men were occupied as craft and relater worker. They represent 53.6% of the men in the secondary sector. The Corozal district had the highest proportion of men occupied as craft workers in this sector.

The majority of employed women participated in the service sector. They represented 76.5%, an increase compared to 1980 when the rate was 69.6%. The women participation in this sector was also higher than that for the men. The proportion of men was 37.2% in 1991 and 30.7% in 1980. At the district level, the proportion of women in the service sector ranged from 63.8% in Stann Creek to 80.5% in Toledo.

Approximately 23% of the women in the service sector were occupied as associate professionals. That same proportion was occupied as elementary workers, and another significant proportion (20.8%) were occupied as service workers. The men in this sector were mainly occupied as elementary workers (22.3%) and associate professionals and craft workers, each accounting for approximately 14%.

The analysis on income was based only on those employed persons that reported their level of income. The twenty five income groups were collapsed into five groups based on the gross monthly income. The majority (62.3%) of employed persons earned less than $600 per month. Twenty-eight percent earned $600 to $1199 and 6.1% earned $1200 to $1799. Only 3.4% earned higher than $1800 per month. There was no significant difference in the overall distribution of income for women and men.

The majority of those that did not reach secondary level earned less than $600 per month. However, the percent of females (85.4%) was higher than the males (71.6%). The proportion of males earning $600 to $1199 was two times as high as the women with the same educational level.

Among those who have reached secondary level, the majority of women (54.8%) and 44.4% of men earned less than $600 per month. There were 35.5% of the women and 41.2% of the men that earned $600 to $1199. The gender difference in income earned is smaller as the income increased.

Only 14% of the women and 13.2% of the men that have reached post secondary level earned less than $600 per month. The majority of the women (57%) with this level of education earned $600 to $1199 per month while the corresponding rate for men was 40.8%. The percent of men earning $1200 and above was significantly higher than that for the women, i.e. 45% of men and 28.8% of the women.

At the highest income range ($2,330 and over) the percent of males with a secondary or less education is doubled that for the females with the same level of education. The difference is even greater when comparing the men and women with post secondary education at this income level. The percent of males is three times higher. These figures on education and income clearly indicate that men earned higher incomes than women with the same educational level.

Approximately 78% of the women in the primary sector earned less than $600 per month, compared to 75.5% of the women in the secondary sector and 61.5% in the service sector. The difference between women in the primary and secondary sectors is less than 3%. However, there was a 14% difference between women in the service sector and either of the other sectors. The majority (81.8%) of men in the primary sector earned less than $600 monthly, compared to 50.5% in the secondary sector and 49.9% in the service sector. Note that there was no significant difference between the percent of men in the secondary and service sectors earning less than $600. A higher percent of men than women in the primary sector earned less than $600 per month. In the secondary and service sectors it was the reverse.

Summary and Recommendations

Labour force participation for women was significantly lower than that for the men,

especially for women in the rural areas and in the Toledo district. There needs to be an increase in job opportunities for women. At the same time, the informal activities that women do should be recognized as economic activities. Increased access to affordable day care would also enhance women's participation since this is an integral part. The low unemployment rate is partly a reflection of job-search frustration. This could be addressed by providing more job opportunities.

The educational level of employed women, as well as men, was low. There is a need for continued education, an increase in secondary school completion and higher rates of transition to post secondary education.

Women were occupied mainly as elementary workers and, at the higher level, in female dominated teaching and nursing jobs. There is a need to prepare female students to meet the demands of the varied occupations. This would lessen their competition in the female dominated jobs and enhance their participation in those that are traditionally male dominated.

The majority of women in the labour force participated in the service sector of the economy. Again, through education and training, women could become more interested and more skilled to function in the other two sectors. Women get less pay than men with the same educational qualification. This is mainly because more women have to settle for the less skilled jobs.

Several national reports have highlighted the issue and made recommendations for the enhancement of the women labour force participation. This issue was also raised in the programmes of action for the three recent international United Nations' conferences. Belize participated in these conferences and has agreed to implement the actions that have been adopted. It is therefore hoped that the issue of enhanced women's participation in the labour force, as well as generally more empowerment and involvement of women in all spheres will be greatly promoted in the coming years.

Table 10.1: Labour Force Participation Rate by District Age Group and Sex

	1991				1980			
	WAP		LFPR		WAP		LFPR	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Corozal	7,745	8,303	15.4	84.5	5,625	6,488	12.7	89.6
Orange Walk	7,936	8,858	16.1	85.6	5,439	6,275	10.4	91.2
Belize	17,143	16,035	38.2	76.3	15,460	14,488	30.7	76.6
Cayo	10,069	10,048	25.0	80.2	5,842	5,907	20.1	84.5
Stann Creek	4,585	5,044	20.8	79.6	3,807	3,669	24.1	81.7
Toledo	4,181	4,379	11.0	84.5	2,840	2,775	10.5	84.9
Total	51,659	52,667	25.1	80.9	39,013	39,602	21.7	83.3
15 - 19	10,258	10,104	15.9	55.1	8,681	8,722	21.1	66.9
20 - 34	21,649	21,685	32.3	91.8	14,164	14,455	28.4	98.5
35 - 49	10,028	10,765	30.6	93.7	7,351	7,591	20.7	97.1
50 - 64	5,654	6,282	17.8	83.6	4,901	5,219	15.8	88.3
65+	4,070	3,831	6.7	47.1	3,421	3,135	6.7	56.4

Source: 1980 and 1991 Censuses

Table 10.2: Labour Force Indicators by Relationship to Head by Sex, 1991

	Total LF		Participation Rate		Unemployment Rate	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
1991						
Head	8,327	29,617	38.2	88.9	1.4	3.6
Spouse	24,491	1,258	18.0	83.9	0.5	4.2
Child	12,022	13,979	29.0	67.7	3.2	8.1
1980						
Head	6,103	21,254	33.0	91.5	1.9	2.0
Spouse	17,099	736	12.0	76.9	0.8	8.0
Child	8,768	10,128	29.7	76.5	9.5	11.5

Source 1980 and 1991 Census

Table 10.3: Labour Force Indicators by Marital Status by Sex, 1991

	Total		Participation Rate		Unemployment Rate	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
1991						
Married	21,147	20,993	20.4	88.6	0.6	1.6
N/Married	26,673	29,713	29.1	76.5	2.7	6.0
Others	3,839	1,961	22.6	66.3	1.3	2.9
1980						
N/Married	16,012	15,703	15.2	90.5	0.8	1.6
Married	19,699	21,929	27.9	8.1	7.2	8.7

Source: 1980 and 1991 Censuses

Table 10.4: Unemployment Rate by District, Age group and Sex

	1991				1980			
	LF		Unemp. Rate		LF		Unemp. Rate	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Corozal	1,191	7,020	1.8	2.4	716	5,811	1.1	2.9
Orange Walk	1,281	7,586	1.0	2.4	568	5,724	4.2	1.7
Belize	6,550	12,229	2.1	5.3	4,752	11,094	5.7	9.1
Cayo	2,514	8,061	1.7	4.3	1,195	4,994	4.3	4.4
Stann Creek	954	4,016	2.3	5.6	928	2,998	8.2	8.3
Toledo	461	3,702	2.2	3.5	299	2,356	2.3	3.1
Total	12,951	42,614	1.9	4.0	8,458	32,975	5.2	5.5
15 - 19	1,627	5,571	6.0	9.1	1,835	5,838	1.4	14.4
20 - 34	6,996	19,902	1.8	4.0	4,021	13,518	3.6	3.4
35 - 49	3,071	10,086	0.4	2.4	1,521	7,141	0.7	2.3
50 - 64	1,006	5,250	0.9	2.4	773	4,606	1.3	2.6
65+	251	1,805	1.2	2.0	229	1,769	3.5	2.3

Source: 1980 and 1991 Censuses

Table 10.5: Elementary Workers by Highest Education Reached by Sex

	Elementary Worker		Post Primary		% Post Primary	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Country	2,741	12,549	347	1,162	12.7	9.3
Corozal	260	2,863	20	154	7.7	5.4
Orange Walk	323	3,051	31	256	9.6	8.4
Belize	1,159	2,156	236	471	20.4	21.8
Cayo	637	2,063	36	153	5.7	7.4
Stann Creek	252	1,545	18	80	7.1	5.2
Toledo	110	871	6	48	5.5	5.5

Source: 1991 Census

Table 10.6: Associate Professionals by Highest Education Reached by Sex

	Associate Professionals		Post Primary		% Post Primary	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Country	2,401	2,520	2,009	1,920	83.7	76.2
Corozal	276	300	220	212	79.9	70.7
Orange Walk	244	343	189	252	77.4	73.5
Belize	1,093	1,048	937	841	85.7	80.2
Cayo	423	534	372	388	88.0	76.4
Stann Creek	221	139	173	97	78.3	69.8
Toledo	144	156	118	110	81.9	70.5

Source: 1991 Census

Table 10.7: Occupation by Industry by Sex

	Primary		Secondary		Service	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Managers	7	93	79	357	881	1,676
Prof.	4	32	16	65	484	784
As. Prof.	11	62	36	241	2,253	2,095
Clerks	59	64	208	140	1,650	672
Service	22	73	63	132	2,032	2,090
Agriculture	151	7,898	3	47	9	132
Craft	16	192	632	4,144	60	2,120
Operators	3	1,202	446	778	28	1,760
Elementary	229	7,187	192	1,768	2,266	3,397
Defense	0	0	0	0	22	378
DK/NS	5	106	8	54	65	152
TOTAL	507	16,909	1,683	7,726	9,750	15,220

Source: 1991 Census

Table 10.8: Monthly Income by Highest Educational Level Reached by Sex

	Less than secondary		Secondary		Post Secondary	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Less $600	85.4	71.4	54.8	44.4	14.1	13.2
$600 - $1,199	12.7	23.6	35.5	41.2	57.0	40.8
$1,200 - $1,799	1.4	3.4	6.9	9.4	19.2	24.0
$1,800 - $2,279	0.2	1.0	1.9	2.9	6.1	10.4
	0.3	0.6	0.9	2.1	3.6	11.6
$2,330 and over						

Source: 1991 Census

CHAPTER 11

POPULATION PROJECTIONS FOR BELIZE 1990 - 2020

Introduction

The following set of population projections for the country of Belize were prepared using the **PRODEM** projection package developed by the United Nations. It is the intention of the Central Statistical Office to refine these projections, by accounting for other variables which may be associated with population growth, and to publish these results separately. As is commonly the case with population projections, several scenarios have been prepared and carefully studied before the most likely ones are adopted for use and for analyses. This procedure has been followed here. A total of ten different scenarios were run and examined. The final three (3) which will be discussed here have been deemed to be the most likely to occur within the projection period.

The Base Population

The base population for these projections is the 1991 Census. The total enumerated population of the country after adjusting for under-enumeration was 192,000. The total adjusted enumerated population was further adjusted backwards to July 1, 1990, thereby giving a mid-year 1990 population figure of 185,200. In all the projection scenarios the 1990 mid year population estimate of 185,200 is used.

Recent Demographic Developments in Belize

(a) Mortality

Belize, like many other Caribbean countries , has experienced a considerable increase in Life Expectancy over the past three decades. One of the major contributors to this has been the significant improvements made in our health care system with an emphasis on preventative medicine. The eradication and control of communicable diseases, which were a major cause of death, is an outcome of this education. The improvement in personal hygiene, access to potable water for a large majority of the population, and almost universal infant immunization have all contributed to longer life expectancies. Belize, together with other English speaking Caribbean countries, now ranks with those countries of the world with some of the highest life expectancies at birth: for males sixty-nine years and females seventy-four years.

One scenario for mortality is assumed in these projections. Over the thirty year period of the projections, it is assumed that both males and females will gain an average of three years in life expectancy. For all ten projection scenarios, the set of life expectancies shown in Table 11.1 are used.

(b) Fertility

The Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of Belize has been slowly declining over the past three decades (in 1970, the TFR was 6.3, dropping to 5.9 in 1980). Using the 1991 Census data it was estimated at 4.6. Belize, therefore, continues to have one of the highest fertility rates among the English speaking Caribbean. One of the main factors associated with this is the large rural

population. Indeed the 1991 Census showed that the rural population is larger than the urban. Ruralization continues to be exacerbated by the steady influx of immigrants mainly from the neighbouring Central American countries. These immigrants come from peasant backgrounds and are characterized by high fertility. Analysis of the 1991 Census data show the immigrant population with a fertility rate over two children per woman higher than the Belizean population. This implies that should these immigrants remain in Belize, and should this rate of immigration continue, the country's overall TFR will continue to remain alarmingly high.

It must be recognized however, that there are several factors which can, and are, counteracting the tendency for sustained high fertility. First, both the NGO sector and the Private sector in general, are actively promoting conventional family planning techniques among the entire population of the country, and there are already healthy signs of the use and acceptance of these techniques by the migrant population as well as the host population. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees is also assisting local family planning agencies to expand services to the migrant settlements. The government itself may soon formally offer such services through its Maternal and Child Health Programme, as it moves closer to the adoption of a comprehensive Population Policy.

A second factor which may contribute to lower fertility levels is the steadily increasing flow of migrants under the Belize Economic Citizenship Programme from Hong Kong, Taiwan and China. These migrants tend to be of opposite socio-economic and demographic status than those from Central America. They are inclined to be quite wealthy, highly skilled, educated, and they display a willingness to invest some of their wealth in the country. They also have much lower fertility levels than the Belizean population. Further, the advent of the second, more sophisticated type of immigrants has significant implications for rapid and genuine "Economic Development".

The above suggests in the High (TFR), fertility is assumed to be 4.0 during the first five-year interval, declining during successive intervals to 3.0 in the last five years of the projection period. In the Medium scenario, the initial TFR is 3.9 and this is reduced to Replacement (2.1) in the last five year period. With the Low scenario, the TFR is set at 3.7 in the initial five year period and is reduced to Replacement by the five year interval beginning in 2005 and is assumed to be constant after this. (Table 11.2).

© Migration

Migration is a major contributor to population change in Belize. Analyses of the impact of 'Net Migration' on population change show that during the last intercensal period more than 1,000 persons entered the country than left it. This reversed a long term trend of net losses due to migration and represents a major shift as Belize approaches the desirable level of development. For Belize to reach this plateau, planned immigration is essential. Planned immigration, albeit in an informal way, is exactly what is currently taking place. In the meantime however, Central American immigrants keep coming in and even though from time to time some are deported, the border of Belize with Guatemala and Mexico is so open that they easily and quickly return. These immigrants find jobs in the agricultural and construction sector. It is expected that this trend will continue since the demand for these basic skills will prevail as Belize develops. In addition, the Asian immigrants from Hong Kong, China and Taiwan will continue to flood Belize, as more and better prospects for investment in the country are discovered. In other words, Belize will continue to attract Asian

immigrants who must leave Hong Kong soon before it is given back to China, as well as Taiwanese investors who aspire to penetrate the U.S. market. Belize is among the privileged countries of the region which obtain special 'duty free' access for its goods and services to the large North American market.

If Belize does not find its 'niche' sooner, rather than later, the alternative could be disastrous, since it would mean subservience to some neo-colonial, semi-third world master. This could easily be the case if Belize is absorbed by Guatemala, Mexico, or another Latin American country, whose populations themselves are in abject poverty.. Belize would be even more neglected and all the evils of neo-colonialism would eventually force all the more literate and numerate people to flee the country leaving a largely rural and illiterate population behind. Obviously, this latter population would be characterized by very high fertility rates, but mortality would also increase. Immigration into the country would be minimal, while emigration would be phenomenal. Bearing these considerations in mind, the following three (3) migration scenarios are propounded.

The high scenario assumes the net migration will continue at approximately double its estimated level during the period 1990 - 2000, i.e. approximately 1,000 over the first two (2) quinquennium of the projection period. For the remaining four (4) quinquennia however, the scenario assumes that net migration will double to 2,000 for each quinquenium, reflecting the increased immigration of Asian, Latin American and other people as Belize develops. The medium scenario delays the doubling until the last quinquenium, and maintains net migration at approximately 1,000 over the previous five quinquennia. The low scenario reflects what would happen if disaster occurs in Belize. For the first two quinquennia, net migration would continue at the level of 1,000 per Quinquennium, but thereafter decline sharply to 0 throughout the remainder of the projection period. Table 11.3 shows the three scenarios.

(d) Results

When the above three possibilities are combined, a total of ten projection scenarios inclusive of the Constant Variant, are generated. These are shown in Table 11.4. As has been mentioned , this list was scrutinized carefully, and the most plausible three scenarios in view of the possible outcomes in the country as outlined above are: (1) the MEDIUM HIGH scenario where fertility follows the medium trend and migration is high. Only one possibility for mortality has been identified; (2) the MEDIUM-MEDIUM scenario where both fertility and migration follow the medium trends; and (3) the LOW-HIGH scenario where fertility is assumed to be low over the projection period and migration is assumed to be high. Of these three likely scenarios, the MEDIUM-MEDIUM scenario appears to be the most plausible for many reasons. Perhaps the most convincing reason here is the fact that Belize is slowly commencing the onset of the "Demographic Transition", and this scenario more closely mirrors events associated with the transition. (Table 11.4)

Analysis of the Results and Implications for Planning

(a) The Population Size and Growth

Table 11.5 shows some of the results of these three projection scenarios. These may now be referred to as the High, Medium and Low scenarios for the remainder of this chapter. In Table 11.5, some of the major demographic indicators which would result from each are presented. It is

interesting to note that at a glance, none of the three scenarios yield a population for Belize of one-half million by the year 2020. In fact, only in the very unrealistic constant scenario does the total projected population reach 458,000, which is still short of 50,000 of the target of half a million. Whatever happens therefore, Belize's population will grow relatively slowly in absolute terms over the projection period. Among others, this fact has implications for economic planning. For example, according to these projections, the local consumer market will remain quite small even into the year 2020. Hence, investment projects, both in the Agricultural and Manufacturing sectors, will have to be export-oriented for them to be viable. This, of course, has much wider implications. For example, these products will have to compete in the global markets, and will therefore have to be characterized by special attributes. The quality of these goods will have to be exceptionally high for them to effectively compete. Another very important consideration associated with a small population is the danger posed if too many jobs are created. Hence, the level and types of investment have to be monitored on an ongoing basis. Of course, the quick answer in view of the creation of a surplus of jobs is immigration. However, as some European countries experienced after the second World War, the social ramifications associated with a large immigrant population, who are of a totally different culture, could be traumatic. For example, if the immigrants should stay permanently in the receiving country, this could spawn a multi-cultural society which could be plagued by serious problems in the future when one culture seeks to assert itself. This has been experienced in many different circumstances in other countries of the world.

Because the levels of fertility and migration, although being realistic, were nevertheless quite low at the outset, the total projected size of these populations are also not very different. These range from 345,148 to 362,727 by the end of the projection period. In all three scenarios, the exponential rate of growth falls from around 2.7% per annum in 1980 to 1.5% per annum in 2020. This very low growth rate associated with a population which is itself small in absolute terms, although demographically a plausible occurrence, may not be so plausible for economic planning, as mentioned before. An **"optimal"** population size for the country of Belize therefore remains the most desirable pursuit.

b) The Components of Growth

According to all three scenarios, the total number of births by 5-year period will increase between the initial and final periods of the projection interval: by 524, 252 and 1,659 for the high, medium and low scenarios, respectively. This increase will happen despite declines in the TFR for all three scenarios, reflecting an increase in the number of women in the child bearing age. Indeed, for the low variant where the TFR declines the fastest, the number of births increases the most. Parallel to this, the number of women between age 15-49 also increases - the largest over the projection interval by almost 140%. A glance at the total net migration figure (10,000) over the period and total deaths, show that for all three scenarios, the birth component influence population growth the most.

Even though the death rates decline over time in all three projections, the absolute number of deaths increases steadily. For example, in the high scenario, the number of deaths increase by over 43% during the period, whereas the figure is over 44% in the low scenario. The increase in the number of deaths despite declining death rates is due once again to a rising population.

Since the birth component will be the most influential component, a comprehensive Fertility

Policy will have to be designed and followed. Such a policy can then be incorporated into an overall Population Policy for the country, taking into consideration the other components of growth, albeit of lesser importance in terms of overall growth. It is also essential that the Population Policy be fully incorporated into the Planning process, and in particular the national development plan.

© The Age Distribution

Perhaps the most interesting result to planners, aside from the overall population size and growth in these projections, is the resulting age distribution of the projected population over the period. Health planners are often interested in knowing the projected number of children aged 0-4, for intervention through immunization campaigns and general child health care. After all, this is one of the most vulnerable age intervals of the life cycle. Educational planners are interested in the size of the school age population and the implications this has for allocations of human, financial and other resources. Of concern to economists is the size, age distribution, etc. of the potential labour. In addition, the political directorate often has questions about present and potential housing needs. The results of these projections are instrumental in answering these questions.

First, let us consider the change in the school age population 0-14 years. According to Table 11.6, in the Medium Projection Scenario, the total, in absolute terms, will increase from 81,367 in 1990 to 101,168 in the year 2020. This converts to an increase of over 24% during the period. Educational cost per capita will be increased by 25% in 2020 arising from this sharp increase in the school age population. The trend in the growth of this population sub-group after this date seems to be slightly decreasing, or stabilizing, around 100,000. It is noted for example, that in the previous quinquenium, the school age population was 103,868. Initially more financial resources will be needed to widen the investment in the education system. After this quinquenium the required resources may either stabilize or decrease.

With respect to the age group 0-4, which is a subgroup of the age group 0-14, the same will hold true. This group will also grow in line with its parent group and make parallel demands on the health system. Initially, substantially more financial resources will have to be invested in our health system - particularly in the traditional preventative areas like the Maternal and Child Health Programme. The level of investment may taper off after the quinquenium starting with the year 2020.

The behaviour of the potential labour force, taken here to comprise the age group 25-59, follows a different trend. In 1990 the size of this age group was 55,452, rising steadily to 162,875 in the year 2020. This consistently increasing feature implies that more jobs will continuously have to be created to meet the growing demands of the job market. The onus on the public sector to stimulate investment and create more jobs cannot be overemphasized. According to the Medium Scenario, more new jobs will have to be created on an annual basis. In 1991, approximately 65,000[1] persons were employed in the entire country. These figures are showing that almost double this number of jobs will be required by the year 2020.

Some answers to the question of housing needs in the future can also be addressed by these

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[1]1991 Population Census: MAJOR FINDINGS, Central Statistical Office, Belize.

projected figures. The average household size of the country in 1991 was 4.9 persons per household which is a decrease from an average of 5.3 persons per household in 1980. If the MEDIUM SCENARIO should prevail, average household size will decrease even further. However, using the conservative average recorded in 1991, for a projected population of 358,754 persons in the year 2020, a potential total of 73,215 households will be prevalent. Assuming that this converts to the need for 58,572 dwelling units, i.e. approximately 92% more units than there were in 1991[2] will be required.

Conclusion

Only the most relevant aspects of the series of population projections generated from the stated assumptions about Fertility, Migration and Mortality are presented in this chapter. As mentioned, these projections are currently being refined and will shortly be published in a separate document by the Central Statistical Office, Belize. Analyses here focus on the major implications for planning of these current projections, highlighting the concerns in the Education, Health and Manpower Planning sectors. It is noted that the Medium Projection Scenario is the most plausible, in view of the fact that real and rapid development of the country is expected to commence shortly, and the demographic characteristics of the population will respond to the associated economic opportunities. This implies that the population size will not exceed one half million, and will therefore be manageable and productive.

Table 11.1: Life Expectancies by Quinquennium

	Quinquennium					
	1990-1995	1995-00	2000-05	2005-10	2010-15	2015-20
Males	69.1	70.6	71.2	71.9	72.6	73.2
Female	74.1	74.8	75.4	76.1	76.8	77.4

Table 11.2: Total Fertility Rates by Quinquennium for Projection Period

	Quinquennium					
	1990-1995	1995-00	2000-05	2005-10	2010-15	2015-20
High	4	3.8	3.6	3.4	3.2	3
Medium	3.9	3.5	3.2	2.8	2.5	2.1
Low	3.7	3.6	3	2.1	2.1	2.1

Table 11.3: Net Migration by Quinquenium for the Projection Period

High	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Medium	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	2,000
Low	1,000	1,000	0	0	0	0

Table 11.4: Projection Scenarios

	Fertility	Migration	Mortality
1	H	H	E
2	H	M	E
3	H	L	E
4*	M	H	E
5*	M	M	E
6	M	L	E
7*	L	H	E
8	L	M	E
9	L	L	E
10	C	C	C

Notes: H = High
M = Medium
E = Mortality Level which is constant
L = Low
* = Most plausible scenarios
C = Constant Variant

Table 11.5: Main Demographic Indicators, 1990-2020

Main Demographic Indicators: 1990 - 2020							
	HIGH VARIANT						
Year	Population	Growth Rate	Birth	Deaths	Net Migration	Males	Females
1990	185200					94193	91007
1995	212416	2.7	31118	4915	1000	107824	104591
2000	241653	2.6	33310	5084	1000	122456	119197
2005	273799	2.5	35601	5477	2000	138565	135235
2010	305497	2.2	35528	5852	2000	154423	151074
2015	336126	1.9	34959	6350	2000	169703	166423
2020	362727	1.5	31642	7060	2000	182887	179840
	MEDIUM						
Year	Population	Growth Rate	Birth	Deaths	Net Migration	Males	Females
1990	185200					94193	91007
1995	212332	2.7	31032	4913	1000	107782	104550
2000	241492	2.6	33230	5082	1000	122374	119117
2005	272571	2.4	35523	5454	1000	137910	134661
2010	303087	2.1	35313	5807	1000	153141	149946
2015	332434	1.8	34618	6281	1000	167746	164688
2020	358754	1.5	31284	6984	2000	180798	177956
	LOW						
Year	Population	Growth Rate	Birth	Deaths	Net Migration	Males	Females
1990	185200					94193	91007
1995	210948	2.6	29615	4879	1000	107079	103869
2000	241111	2.7	34251	5099	1000	122182	118929
2005	271074	2.3	33325	5434	2000	137182	133893
2010	297999	1.6	26597	5694	2000	148545	145414
2015	318888	1.6	29109	6241	2000	160952	157936

Table 11.6: Population by Age and Sex: 1990 - 2020

	HIGH SCENARIO									
Year		**0 - 14**	**%**	**15 - 24**	**%**	**25 - 59**	**%**	**60+**	**%**	**Total**
1990	Total	81367	44	37141	20	55452	30	11240	6	185200
	Males	41397	44	18556	20	28597	30	5643	6	94193
	Females	39970	44	18585	20	26855	30	5597	6	91007
1995	Total	87750	41	44422	21	68143	32	12101	6	212416
	Males	44513	41	22477	21	34767	32	6068	6	1074824
	Females	43238	41	21946	21	33776	32	6033	6	104591
2000	Total	92881	38	51747	21	83701	35	13324	6	241653
	Males	47140	38	26297	21	42340	35	6680	6	122456
	Females	45741	38	25450	21	41362	35	6643	6	119197
2005	Total	98309	36	57498	21	103159	38	14621	5	273798
	Males	49873	36	29227	21	52184	38	7279	5	138563
	Females	48436	36	28482	21	50975	38	7342	5	135235
2010	Total	102992	34	60848	20	124279	40	17377	6	305496
	Males	52262	34	30840	20	62738	40	8582	6	154422
	Females	50730	33	30008	20	61541	41	8795	6	151074
2015	Total	104894	31	63945	19	145530	43	21755	6	336124
	Males	53240	31	32391	19	73348	43	10723	6	169702
	Females	51654	31	31554	19	72182	43	11032	6	166422
2020	Total	101238	28	68633	19	164814	45	28040	8	362725
	Males	51398	28	34774	19	89282	45	13732	8	182886
	Females	49840	28	33859	19	81832	45	14308	8	179839

Table 11.7: Population by Age and Sex, 1990 - 2020

		MEDIUM SCENARIO								
Year		0 - 14	%	15 - 24	%	25 - 59	%	60+	%	Total
1990	Total	81367	44	37141	20	55452	30	11240	6	185200
	Males	41397	44	18556	20	28597	30	5643	6	94193
	Females	39970	44	18585	20	26855	30	5597	6	91007
1995	Total	87667	41	44223	21	68143	32	12101	6	212334
	Males	44470	41	22447	21	34767	32	6068	6	107782
	Females	43197	41	21946	21	33776	32	6033	6	104552
2000	Total	92713	38	51747	21	83702	35	13323	6	241485
	Males	47051	38	26297	21	42340	35	6680	6	122368
	Females	45662	38	25450	21	41362	35	6643	6	119117
2005	Total	97842	36	57488	21	102682	38	14558	5	272570
	Males	49638	36	29110	21	51920	38	7242	5	137910
	Females	48204	36	28378	21	50762	38	7316	5	134660
2010	Total	102270	34	60330	20	123248	41	17240	5	303088
	Males	51898	34	30573	20	62169	41	8502	5	153144
	Females	50372	33	29757	20	61079	41	8738	5	149946
2015	Total	103868	31	63164	19	143876	43	215276	6	332435
	Males	52723	31	31991	19	72443	43	10591	6	167748
	Females	51145	31	31173	19	71433	43	10936	6	164687
2020	Total	101168	28	67954	19	162875	45	27759	8	358757
	Males	50857	28	34432	19	81939	45	13572	8	180800
	Females	49311	28	33523	19	81936	45	14187	8	177957

Table 7.11 Population by Age and Sex: 1990 - 2020

		LOW SCENARIO								
Year		0 - 14	%	15 - 24	%	25 - 59	%	60+	%	Total
1990	Total	81367	44	37141	20	55452	30	11240	6	185200
	Males	41397	44	18556	20	28597	30	5643	6	94193
	Females	39970	44	18585	20	26855	30	5597	6	91007
1995	Total	86283	41	44223	21	68143	32	12101	6	210950
	Males	43768	41	22477	21	34767	32	6068	6	107080
	Females	42515	41	21946	21	33376	32	6033	6	103670
2000	Total	92341	38	51747	21	83702	35	13324	6	241114
	Males	46866	38	26297	21	42340	35	6680	6	122183
	Females	45475	38	25450	21	41362	35	6643	6	118930
2005	Total	95585	35	57704	21	103159	38	14621	5	271074

Table 7.11 Population by Age and Sex: 1990 - 2020										
	Males	48491	35	29227	21	52184	38	7279	5	137181
	Females	47094	35	28482	21	50975	38	7342	5	133893
2010	Total	92954	32	59390	20	124279	42	17377	6	294000
	Males	47164	32	30102	20	62738	42	8582	6	148556
	Females	45790	32	29288	20	61541	42	8795	6	145414
2015	Total	88194	28	63406	20	145530	45	21755	7	318885
	Males	44762	28	32117	20	72348	45	10723	7	160952
	Females	43432	28	31287	20	72182	45	11032	7	157933
2020	Total	86367	25	67374	20	163364	47	28040	8	345145
	Males	43850	25	34136	20	82249	47	13732	8	173967
	Females	42517	25	33238	20	81115	47	14308	8	171178

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